THE

LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS MEN.

Written in *Latin*

BY

CORN. NEPOS.

AND

Done into *English*

BY

Several Gentlemen in the University of *OXON.*

The Second Edition.

LONDON:

Printed for *John Weld* at the *Crown* betwixt the two *Temple-Gates* in *Fleetstreet.* 1685.

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To the Right Honourable

JAMES

EARL of ABBINGDON,

Lord Lieutenant

OF THE

County of OXFORD, &c.

MY LORD

THESE Lives of *Cornelius Nepos*, which I now Present your Lordship in *English*, have had the good Fortune to survive in their Original (the *Latin*) seventeen hundred years; And tho the Observation of the Excellent Lord *Bacon* be very Ingenious, *That Time is like a*

River, which bears up the Stubble, and such light things, but lets the more weighty and substantial sink; yet must this be taken for a Similitude, and as such is only applicable to the Abuses which the Authority of precedent Ages, as well as other Humane Concerns, is and may be subject to. For to suppose, that those things which have past the Test of the wisest and severest Ages, have at last nothing of intrinsic value in themselves, but owe the long possessing of Fame to a Hit of Fortune, to the Humour or tame Obsequiousness of a long Succession of Admirers, is so bold an Attempt upon the Reason of Mankind, that he that makes it, *must either have much of the God, or a great deal of*

the Fool; By invincible Argument to demonstrate the Mistakes of the Learned World in all its Stages, requires a Soul of a Divine Perspicacity, clear from those Incumbrances that have misguided the Prospect of other Mortals. To oppose a single capricious Opinion to the collected force of so many Men's Judgments, looks like the Hero in the Play, or the Knight-Errant in the Romance; who with two Legs and two Arms, Fights and Routs whole Millions. I do not (My Lord) Apologize for our Author, as if He need beg a Blessing from Antiquity, or wanted the Testimonials of Precedent Ages to support his Credit; had he been Written in this time he is Translated, there is worth e-

nough in Him to recommend Him to all Lovers of Hiſtory. *Cornelius Nepos* Liv'd in an Age that had the greateſt Taſte of Good ſenſe of any poſſibly ſince the Creation. Eloquence did not then conſiſt in the gaudy Trimming of Metaphors, or the forc'd acuteneſs of a ſhort cut Period, but Good Senſe naturally and cleanly Expreſs'd, was the Language *Auguſtus* and his Court incourag'd. Our Author cannot indeed pretend to the Politeneſs of *Cicero*, but yet he has nothing but what is Manly and Strong; and if my weak Judgment informs me right, there runs through his Writings a Gentile Vein of ſpeaking unaffectedly, which declares him a Man remov'd above the *Pedant* or *Plebeian*.

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Here it must be confest, he is now and then rough in the Period, and negligent in the Expression; but the judicious *Quintilian* allows this to be sometimes a Beauty; and 'tis the opinion of most Critics, that if there be any fault in *Tully* himself, 'tis that he is too Set and Formal in his Stile. There are some Faces that are very exact in the Symmetry of their Parts, and the mixture of Colour, and yet they are not pleasing; While on the other Hand there are others in which Nature seems to have made agreeable mistakes; Eloquence is only the Beauty of Language, in which a too formal observance of Exactness is disgustful. There is as much difference between the Gentile practise of

Rhetorick, and the heavy Regularity that arises purely from the attendance upon its Rules, as there is between the Gentile Address of a Gentleman, and the fulsome Compliment of a School-Master. Such is his Stile, that it seems to give *Cornelius Nepos* a pretence to the Patronage of your Lordship, whose Ancestors have reflected greater Honor upon Learning and Learned Societies, than they could ever receive from them. 'Tis in the Great Name of the *Bartu's*, we meet the two greatest Ornaments of Mankind conjoyn'd, Learning and Nobility; and in that Generous Noble Blood, not only Honor, but Wisedome are convey'd. The reason *Petronius Arbiter* gives,

 why

why good Senſe and true Reaſon were in his Age, in the decline, is, *Becauſe every Man muſt fiſh with ſuch baits he thinks will take*; but ſays the ſame Ingenious Author, *We have loſt the generous Palate*; Had your Lordſhip Liv'd in that time, there could have been no occaſion for this general Complaint. In your Lordſhip a *Virgil* or a *Horace* might have found an *Agrippa* or *Mæcenas*, who did not only receive the Compliments of thoſe Great Men, but underſtood their Worth. Our Author has in ſhort drawn the Greateſt Heroes that *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and even *Afric* it ſelf could boaſt, and 'tis to him that *Rome* does owe its *Atticus*. It often happens, that a

Prince

Prince is better repreſented by his Coyns, then by his Statues; ſo without detracting from the juſt praiſe of others, *Nepos* may poſſibly give as lively an Idea of an *Alcibiades* or *Themiſtocles*, as thoſe who have drawn out their Deſcriptions to a greater length; For as in Mens Faces, ſo in their Actions, there are certain peculiar Airs that diſtinguiſh one from another; if you hit theſe, you give the Character as effectually, as if your Canvaſs was as large as the Object, and you took in every Hair. The deſign of Hiſtory is to inſtruct by Example, and Correct the Infirmities of Life; to Trace out the Roads by which Great Men arriv'd at Fame, and the Rocks they have ſplit againſt. All the

reward

reward We can pay to defunct virtue, is a grateful remembrance of it, and Vice is a Deteſtation to Poſterity. *Phocion's* Beneficence will be an Eternal Monument: *Eumenes* his unſhaken Loyalty to the Poſterity of his Prince will never be forgotten: And *Alcibiades* his tender Paſſion to an ungrateful Country, will laſt as long as Senſe remains in the World. Such Examples may afford Your Lordſhip's leiſure Hours a Divertiſement, but cannot pretend to Direct. The Hiſtory of your own Family is a Treaſure of Greatneſs and Bravery, which affords Inſtances (of both Sexes) for every Virtue and Duty of Life. And here we cannot enough Admire the inimitable Gallantry of *Katha-*

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rine Dutchess of *Suffolk*, whose Zeal to the Protestant Religion at least came up to the Example of the most Primitive Confessors; who supported all the Variety of Her numerous Afflictions with the Meekness of Her own Sex, and the Courage of Ours: While every Country prov'd more Hospitable to that Admirable Lady than Her own; and Foreign Nations thought themselves oblig'd to Reverence that Virtue which we could not bear. Nor need I instance in those Heroes of your Family, to whose Noble Atchievements the Great *Henry* of *France* was so highly obliged, and the *Dutch* owe so great a part of their Liberty. Nor perhaps was the very attempt of Civilizing *Ireland*

land an undertaking of leſs Gallantry and Spirit, ſince 'tis eaſier to Create than Reſtore. When at length the unhappineſs of an Headſtrong Nation recall'd them from Forreign to Domeſtick Wars, with how much Courage, how much Loyalty did the Heroick *Lindſey* eſpouſe his Royal Maſters Intereſt! He deſpiſed both the Allurements and Forces of a Faction, then almoſt Irreſiſtable, and receiv'd the Aſſaults of the Rebellious Army, as unmov'd as an *Iſthmus* does the ſhock of conteſting Waves. He oppos'd his Perſon to the moſt eminent Dangers in the Defence of oppreſs'd Majeſty; and dyed like one that had a true value for Life, and knew how advantageouſly a few minutes

untes of Life were chang'd for an Immortality of Fame.

To be Nobly Born is (My Lord) queſtionleſs one of the greateſt worldly happineſſes kind Heaven beſtows; and Nature for ſeveral Ages ſeems to prepare and refine the Blood of a Family, that She may at laſt work out and introduce one Perfectly Great Man. That this is Your Lordſhips Caſe, we have reaſon to believe, in whom all the Virtues that are thriftily divided amongſt others, are United. Well then may *Cornelius Nepos* be Proud of Your Lordſhip's Name to Lead up his Heroes, and protect thoſe that were, while they liv'd, the Patriots of their Country.

Each Virtue takes its proportion from the Exigences of time

and

and Place. He that ſtands upon the ſecure Shore, and undauntedly views the ungovern'd rage of the Ocean, does not, on this account, deſerve the Praiſe of a Valiant Man; but He is the Maſter of true Courage, that all the time ſedately ſtems the Ship; endeavors to be ſafe, yet fears not to meet Death in its moſt dreadful ſhape. Amongſt the polluted ſpawn of Pamphlets which have crawl'd about during this Ferment of the Government, there have been a few who have compared it to a Ship toſs'd by dangerous Waves. Let the deſign of theſe Parable-Makers be what it will, (as in moſt of them it has been bad enough) yet the ſimilitude is to the purpoſe; and Your Lordſhip has

has had no small share in preserving this leaky Vessel from destruction. 'Tis an observation too well known among Politicians, *That the Virtue of a Prince may sometimes turn to his Destruction*; of which we have had a sad Example in the Blessed Martyr *Charles* the First; *Who Suffer'd, and Dyed for being Good; and the same Jews that acted that sad Tragedy, designed a second upon the Son of his Loyns, and Inheritor of His Virtues*; as if they were resolv'd by repeated Experiences, to revoke that Axiom of the Moralists, *That the Natural effect of Benevolence and Goodness, even in this World, is a reciprocal Love and Felicity*; and so it is in all except the Fanatick, whom both the Father and

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Grandfather of our Gracious Prince, assures Us, *that no Benefit can oblige.* And really the Fanatick is no more to be comprehended within the general Rules of Reason, than the Brute; because as this acts according to the instinct of its Nature, which often carries it contrary to the principles of a Rational Creature, so the Fanatick is moved by the giddy impulse of *Enthusiasm*, which has abundance of more points then the Compass. This is that Monster who ever since His Majesties Happy, Happy Restoration, has endeavour'd to lay an open and easie way to the Destruction of the Government, by endeavouring by their unreasonable Calumnies to make the chief Ministers of It Contemptible to the

People. They have been indeed, like cunning Artists, a long while heating and preparing the matter; and in Seventy-eight, when they found the Bent and Byas of the People work'd into a Temper, then it was, that *Corah* shew'd Himself and pronounc'd, *That the Prince and the Priest had conspir'd together against our Liberty.* This carry'd on under specious pretences, put the People into a fit of down-right Madness, and when the Zealous Alarum was made on that side of the imaginary point of the Compass whence Popery was to come, the Fanatick had just planted his Colours on the contrary part of our City. 'Tis enough to confound a Man, and make Him (if possible) to forswear being in the same Class of

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Nature with these sort of Animals, to consider the unaccountable Whims in their Proceedings. All that dyed for Dr. *Titus* his Plot with their last breath asserting their Innocence, were not believ'd, because, *Popery allow'd Dispensations for Lying, and could easily elude, not only the Dictates of* Christianity, *but of Nature too*; And now it comes to the Fanaticks turn to Hang, one would think on such an occasion they should not only sing *Hopkins* very heartily, but speak true too, and yet all these unfortunate Gentlemen that dy'd, having, in part at least, acknowledg'd the matter of Fact for which they were Condemn'd; tho they seem to deny the Guilt of it, the Brethren matter it not; and yet could these believe, that

a Mad-man with a Fire-ball upon a pole, set *London* into flames.

My Lord, we had felt the dismal effects of this mixture of Villany and Madness, had not the most Wise conduct of His *MAJESTY* (assisted by such Loyal and Courageous Hands as Your Lordships) deliver'd Us from the Dreadful Precipice, which we saw and trembled at. The Fable of the Viper, which the kind Country-man having warm'd into Life, stung its Benefactor, was by Antiquity thought to express Ingratitude in its highest Extent. The Faction outgoe this; They hiss at and wound a Prince, who is not only so far their Redeemer, as that He restor'd them to Life *when they were Dead in Law and Justice*; but shew'd Himself

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of that forbearance and clemency, that He seem'd to deliberate whether he had best revenge their Insolence, or fall Himself. Such extraordinary Goodness deserv'd the Expence of all the Miracles Heaven could lay out for its Deliverance!

We who are happy in living near Your Lordship, felt the warm Influence; The same Plague of Republican Principle, which had infected the Capital City of this Fortunate Island had gain'd too great a Party among the Citizens of this place. The very Men that eat Our Bread were keenly prepar'd to have invaded those Sacred Seats which support them, and have continually rescued both them and their Predecessors from Beggary. Affronts are not to be measur'd

by the real Loſs we undergo, but that uneaſineſs of ſpirit they bring upon the Men that ſuffer them; To be ſlighted by a Superior is a thing we may calmly (tho with ſome grief) ſubmit to; to be neglected, contemn'd, and trod upon by an Inferior, who depends upon Us for his very Breath, is ſo inſufferable Uſage that nothing but the Meekneſs of a Primitive Confeſſor could forgive it. And how have the Gownsmen deſerv'd this? *Becauſe we are Popiſhly affected, by Religiouſly obſerving the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; becauſe we were Pentioners of* France, *and undermin'd the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, by aſſerting one of the moſt Sacred Eſſentials of the Government, the* LINEAL SUCCESSION, *which could neither by the*

the Diſpenſation of a Pope or the Power of Parliament be alter'd. Your Lordſhip (tho Perſonally Affronted by this ingrateful illiterate Society) durſt ſtemm this Torrent, which threatned an eaſie Ruin to all its Oppoſers: and poſſibly, that the very Brutes that graze and fatten upon the Hill of *Parnaſſus*, have not made Food of Us its Inhabitants, is in no ſmall meaſure due to Your Lordſhips care. Which the Ingenious Gentlemen concern'd in this Tranſlation (who did me the Honor to Commiſſion me, tho of all Men the moſt unfit to recommend it to Your Lordſhips Patronage) do gratefully acknowledge; and it was not the vanity of having a Name prefix'd to two or three leaves *done into Engliſh*, that prompted

prompted them to joyn in this ſmall concern, but the deſire they had to make a publick Reſentment of thoſe many Favours Your Lordſhip has been pleaſed to beſtow upon this Our Sacred learned *Athens*.

And now having Executed my Commiſſion to the utmoſt of my ſmall Abilities, I muſt not in good manners trouble Your Lordſhip any further then to beg leave to aſſure You, That I am with all imaginable Reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

Obliged Humble Servant

Leopold William Finch.

THE LIFE OF CORN. NEPOS.

THere is no part of Human Learning ſo univerſally Advantageous to Mankind, as Hiſtory. It reſcues our Anceſtors from Oblivion; It can Inſtruct and Delight the Preſent and Future Ages. We are oblig'd by all the Laws of Natural Religion, to preſerve our Relations as long as poſſibly we can: Even then when their Lives are ſcarce worth the keeping, when Old Age has render'd them uſeleſs both in publick and private Capacities, by the nauſeous Methods of Phyſick, we endeavour to keep them among us. And certainly our Piety ſhould not end at the Grave; but employ it ſelf in ſecuring all that remains of them. Urns and Pyramids can only preſerve their Aſhes; which are, even to the moſt curious Obſerver, undiſtinguiſhable from thoſe of other Men. Pictures

Pictures and Medals repreſent only their outward Lineaments; which are often not unlike in Fools and Wiſe-men. But Hiſtory gives an Account of their Nobler Parts; their Wit, their Learning, and their Virtue: And the Reader hath, what will be no inconſiderable part of our Happineſs in the other World, the Converſation of all the Great and Good Men of paſt Ages. And their Examples will prove to him far greater Incentives to Virtue than all the grave and ſerious Precepts of Philoſophers. They aſſume to themſelves the Boldneſs and Majeſty of a Legiſlator, lay down rigid and ſevere Rules of Life, treat us with jejune and abſtracted Notions, which few perſons can underſtand, much leſs deduce to practice: But the force of Example is intelligible to the meaneſt Capacities. We Read, and Admire; and, having naturally an Itch after Glory, purſue the ſame methods our Forefathers ſo ſucceſsfully proceeded in.

But tho Hiſtory in General be ſo pleaſant and inſtructive, yet certainly Biography is more Eminently ſo. The General Hiſtorian is wholly taken up in giving

giving the Relations of Great and Glorious Exploits; of the Riſe and Fall of Empires and Great men. You have *Alexander* at the *Granic*, and *Cæſar* in the Fields of *Pharſalia*: But an account of their daily Converſation, of the menage of their Eſtate, their Behaviour to their Friends and their Family, their Government of their own Paſſions, is below the Dignity of the Subject; and if the Author ſhould oblige us by an uſeful Digreſſion (it may be, of more real Advantage than the whole Series of the Hiſtory) it would be call'd by the men of Art, an impertinent Excreſcence; and the whole Work be eſteem'd monſtrous, that in one part ſo ſwells beyond the lawful proportion. As the poor Poet is Damn'd in *Horace*, that becauſe he had got a delicate Deſcription of the *Rhine*, was reſolv'd to inſert it into his Poem, tho wholly impertinent to his Deſign.

Yet certainly the Hiſtory of theſe Actions, tho of a meaner nature, is infinitely more uſeful. The other, 'tis true, are more Heroical and Illuſtrious, extremely fit objects for our Admiration,

but

but uſually unimitable. They do indeed raiſe our Attention; but then they debauch our Reaſon: For, as the Stomachs of thoſe who have indulg'd themſelves in the uſe of Spirituous Liquors, can afterwards admit of no wholeſom Diet: So, after theſe miraculous Accounts of Knights and Giants, all ſober and ſound Senſe proves Nauſeous to us.

In the General Hiſtory, we ſee the Hero at the Head of an Army, or in a Triumph; but by what Steps and Degrees he rais'd himſelf to this Greatneſs, we are unacquainted with; which would yet more improve and delight the Reader. The Acquiſition of Glory, is like that of money: The greateſt Art conſiſts in getting a Stock at firſt; which afterwards, if manag'd with an ordinary Prudence, encreaſes prodigiouſly.

Biography is indeed of a limited and confin'd Nature; ſince it reſpects only the Actions of particular perſons, and is not oblig'd to give the whole proceſs of an Expedition. And therefore, ſince the *Mithridatic* War was manag'd by *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, ſucceſſively.

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an accurate Deſcription of it is not to be expected from the Biographer. But then the General Hiſtorian is as imperfect in the Lives of particular perſons; takes them only as they fall in his way, and cannot inſiſt long upon them, without tranſgreſſing the Laws of a Methodical Hiſtory. But the Biographer attends his Hero from the Cradle to the Throne: Shews him at firſt, it may be, mean and contemptible, deſpis'd and depreſs'd, till at laſt by Vertue and Induſtry he breaks thro all Impediments, and in deſpite of Envy and Detraction, mounts himſelf above his peeviſh Enemies. He accompanies him in his Retirements, gives his Carriage to his Friend and Relations, acquaints you with his Divertiſements, lays aſide the State and Grandeur, the Pomp and Parade, draws the Scene, and ſhews you the Man himſelf, diveſted of his Gaudy or Formal Dreſs. And then, whereas the General Hiſtorian, like a falſe Courtier, takes notice of him only in his Greatneſs; and when he becomes unfit for Service in the Camp or the Senate (as ſome ill Maſters do their worn-out ſervants)

vants) deserts him: Biography still waits upon him, tho discarded the Court; and tells you with what Courage and good Grace he bears the Affronts of his ungrateful Country-men, his Sickness, and Death it self. Which certainly (unless you read History as Ladies do Romances) you would as willingly be inform'd of, as his Gallantry in the hottest Engagements. 'Twere easie to enlarge upon this Subject, were I to write a Panegyric of Biography, and not the Life of a particular Historian.

Among Authors of this Nature, there is scarce any so considerable as *C. Nepos*; who has had the Good Fortune to please the most Judicious Critics of all Ages; but in this is strangely unhappy, That having been so industrious in Immortalizing other men, and having wrote a particular Volume of the Lives of Historians, he himself has been almost forgotten, and we have very little left us concerning him. Nay, and to add to the misfortune, even this very Treatise, of the Lives of Excellent Generals, which is the only one left us of his numerous

merous Writings, hath by ſome very ill Judges been attributed to an obſcure perſon, one *Æmilius Probus*, who liv'd in the Barbarous Age of *Theodoſius*. But of this below.

He was born in *Hoſtilia*, a Village depending upon *Verona*; whereof *Pliny*, *Anthonine* in his Itinerary, *&c.* make mention; and is at this day ſubject to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of *Veronar Verona* lies near the *Po*; upon which account *Pliny* calls our Author *Podi Accola*: It is ſituated likewiſe in that part of *Italy* which the *Romans* (for to us 'tis otherwiſe) call'd *Italia Tranſpadana*, that part of *Italy* which is on the other ſide the *Po*; So that *Catullus*, in his Dedication of his Excellent Poems to *C. Nepos*, might very juſtly call him an *Italian*. But becauſe the ſame Country was call'd *Gallia Togata* (or that part of *Gall* wherein Gowns, the *Roman* Habit, were worn, in oppoſition to *Gallia Braccata*, ſo nam'd from the Garments of the Barbarous Inhabitants) *Auſonius*, alluding to *Catullus*'s forementi-on'd Epigram, tells his *Pacatus*, That he had found a more Learn'd and Obliging Patron

Patron than *Gall* furnish'd *Catullus* with. But these two Poets may be easily reconcil'd, considering that the same place was, with different respects, reckon'd part both of *Gall* and *Italy*. Now, that *Nepos* was a *Veronese*, was the constant opinion of that City, where in the Senate-House his Statue was erected among those of the Illustrious Men born there. *Elios Vinetus* would indeed perswade us, that there is nothing of certainty when *Nepos* was born; but besides the constant Tradition of the City of *Verona*, and that his Statue was plac'd among those of the *Veronian* Writers, (which certainly would satisfie any man of a tolerable ingenuity) we have the Authority of *Leander*, *Albertus*, *Paulus Merula*, and of the Learn'd and Illustrious *Alexander Becellus*, Chancellor of *Verona*.

The Territories of *Verona* enjoy a delicate thin Air; the Soil as healthful, as well water'd, and supply'd with Fruits of all kinds, as most places in the World; as if it were design'd by Nature for the Country of Great and Witty Men. 'Tis not impossible for a great Genius to proceed

ceed from an unhealthy and boggy Soil, where the Air as well as Water ſtagnates, and is corrupted: But 'tis very improbable there ſhould. *Plutarch* and *Pindar* were born in *Bœotia*, but not one eminent Writer more, as we hear of. *Eraſmus* came from *Rotterdam*; and yet the greateſt Judg of the laſt Age was pleas'd to ſay of *Gretſer*, *'Tis a Witty Man for a German.* And if we conſider the dependance which our Souls have upon our Bodies, as to their operations, we need not wonder, that thick and foggy Airs ſhould ſo ſeldom be bleſs'd with extraordinary Men. 'Tis certainly a mighty Advantage to be Born in a place eminent for Wit and Learning; where great Examples daily appear before us, and raiſe in us a generous Emulation to equal or ſurpaſs them. Upon this account it is, that Cities have become famous for ſome particular Excellence; and Wit, as ſome Herbs, if once rooted in a ground, cannot without difficulty be got out. *Verona* has indeed produc'd as great Wits, and as Learn'd Men in all Faculties, as any City perhaps in the World. Here were born

the two *Plinies*, *Macer* the Botanic Poet, *Vitruvius* the Architect, and (in a later Age) that Prodigy of Wit and Learning *Hieronymus Fracastorius*, The best Physitian, Mathematician, and Poet of his Age.

As *Nepos* was Born in a Place famous for polite Learning, so likewise in an Age when Wit and Elegance of Stile were advanc'd to their utmost perfection; in that Age which the Critics call, *The Golden Age of Eloquence*. There is no question but *Junius* the Rebel, *M. Valerius* the Dictator, *Menenius Agrippa*, so famous for Reconciling the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, did make Orations to the People; tho not so fine ones as Historians ascribe to them. They were certainly Men of incomparable Valour, and of sound sense; but they had only a good unpolish'd rough Eloquence, and with that attain'd their ends upon a People rude and illiterate; and wanted only a *Grecian* Education to render 'em the greatest Wits in their Age. But as the *Roman* Empire began to extend it self into *Greece*, and People admir'd the Oratory of that Nation, the *Roman* Language

Language was daily refin'd. It at first became neat and clean, the Words and Phrases proper and easie, not florid, much less ranting and fustian. This is that which is so admirable in the ancient Comedies, of which *Plautus* and *Terence* are the only now left us; which as *Scaliger* well observes, our misfortunes have endear'd to us; we admire them the more, because we have none else left us to admire. In the Eloquence of that Age, there was nothing affected, nothing of Paint and Daubing, but pure Natural Beauty, undebauch'd, and preferrable upon account of its Native simplicity to all the swelling Rhetoric of some after Ages. But at last the *Roman* style was Illustrated with Tropes and Figures; which, if Modestly made use of, are the real Ornaments of a style; but if us'd with Imprudence, become nauseous, and more like the Sayings of a Mad man than an Orator. In this Golden Age, the *Romans* had rais'd themselves to the utmost pitch, they had gone as far as Prudence would permit them; which when their immediate Successors endeavour'd to surpass, they

ſwell'd into Bombaſt, and their Wit was more like an Hydropic Tumor, than a Natural Plumpneſs. The *Spaniards* brought this diſeaſe of ſtyle into *Italy*; and *Cicero* in his Oration for *Archias* the Poet, expoſes the Barbarous and Greaſie Wit of that Nation. And yet there are ſome men who compare and prefer *Martial* to *Catullus*, between whom there is as wide a difference, as betwixt the ſordid Drollery of a Buffoon, and the Ingenious Raillery of a Gentleman. They have had a greater eſteem for the Heat of *Lucan*, than the juſt Greatneſs of *Virgil*. But the beſt Judges rather pity theſe miſtaken Gentlemen that diſpute with them.

Now to be conſiderable in ſuch an Age as this, to be infinitely eſteem'd and Careſs'd by the greateſt perſons in it, is an infallible Argument of the real Excellence of an Author. When *Cicero*, *Catullus*, *Atticus*, *&c.* appear as Witneſſes, it muſt needs be a vile *Ignoramus* Jury that will not find the Bill. *Catullus*, the moſt accurate and delicate Epigrammatiſt that ever Writ, dedicated his Poems to him. *Cicero* was his moſt intimate

and

and bosom Friend; there was a constant Intercourse of Letters betwixt them. *Sueton* in his Life of *Julius Cesar* takes notice of a letter from *Cicero* to *Nepos*; and *Lactantius* quotes an Epistle of *Nepos* to *Tully*. Nay, their Epistolary Commerce was so great, that *Macrobius* makes mention of the second Book of Epistles from *Tully* to *Nepos*. His intimacy with *Atticus* is evident from the Life of *Atticus*, here annex'd to his Lives of Excellent Generals; for *Atticus* himself was so far from being one, that he never engag'd in the War either for *Cæsar* or *Pompey*, and yet had the good Fortune (which I believe very few of that Humour ever met with) to be Honour'd, esteem'd and unmolested thro the whole course of his Life.

He left many Learned and Curious Works behind him, which the injury of time hath depriv'd us of; and we have only just enough left us to see the greatness of our loss in the rest. He was Author of a Book, which he call'd his Chronicle, wherein (in three distinct Volumes) he gave an account of those three great Intervals of time, which

Hiſtorians ſo much talk of, The obſcure and uncertain, The Fabulous, And the Hiſtorical Ages of the World. As to the firſt and ſecond, *Tertullian* informs us, that *Nepos* affirms, there never was any *Saturn* but what was a Man; and *Auſonius* tells his Pupil the Emperor, that he ſent him *Titianus*'s Fables, and *Nepos*'s Chronicles, which were not much unlike 'em; and *Catullus* in his Preface to his Poems, tells us, that *Nepos* did *Omne Ævum tribus explicare chartis.*

Beſides this great Work, he writ the Lives of Illuſtrious Men, of which twenty-two, which reſpect the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, are tranſmitted to us; and likewiſe the Lives of the *Roman* Hero's (as is evident from his Life of *Hannibal*) and the *Roman* Kings. But what thro the Invaſion of Forreign Nations, and the Ignorance and careleſſneſs of Superſtitious Monks, who let them ly and rot unobſerv'd in their Libraries, we have only their Titles from other Authors, which had the good fortune to ſurvive. *Æmilius Probus* hath by ſome Critics bin ſuppos'd to be the Author of the Lives of Forreign Generals; But 'tis a palpable

palpable miſtake occaſion'd by an Epigram prefix'd to ſome antient Manuſcripts of this Author, wherein *Probus* commands his Book, if the Emperor *Theodoſius* enquire after the Author, to tell him it is one *Probus*. But then it follows, *Corpore in hoc manus eſt Genetricis Avique Meique, viz.* that his own hand, his Mothers, and Grandfathers, were concern'd in the work. Whence 'tis clear beyond contradiction, that this *Probus* was only a Tranſcriber. Beſides, can *Robortellus* who writ a Treatiſe of the Art of Criticiſm, or any Man of common Learning and Senſe, perſwade himſelf, that this wretched Poet could be the Author of this moſt delicate and Judicious peice of Hiſtory? But from the cleanneſs and terſneſs of Expreſſion may undeniably be evinc'd, that the Author of this Book liv'd in the Age of *Julius* and *Auguſtus*; and beſides all this there are forty places in the Lives themſelves that prove *Nepos* was their Author and liv'd in the Age aforeſaid, for which if you pleaſe conſult *Lambin.*

But *Nepos* hath not bin more abus'd by aſcribing his Works to other Men,

than in making him the Author of ſom pieces wholly unworthy of him. Thus the Book of Illuſtrious Men, which uſually was ſaid to be *Pliny*'s, but is really *Aurelius Victor*'s, ſome Critics Father upon our Author, and the Tranſlation of *Dares* the *Phrygian* is ſaid to be his: But the very ſtyle it ſelf is ſufficient to convince any Judicious Reader. *Nepos*, in the Judgement of ſome Men liv'd after the Nativity of our Lord; but if you conſider how Celebrated he was for his Learning in the days of *Catullus*, *Cicero* and *Atticus*, you will find no great reaſon to ſubſcribe to their opinion.

THE

THE CHRONOLOGY TO CORN. NEPOS.

		Olympiad.	Year of Olympiad.	Before Christ.
Miltiades	Overcomes the *Persians* at *Marathon*	72	3	490
	Dies in Prison	72	4	489
Themistocles	Overcomes the *Persians* at *Salamis*	73	1	480
	Banish'd	77	2	471
	Dies	79	2	463
Aristides	Banish'd by *Ostracism*	74	2	483
	With *Pausanias* overthrows and kills *Mardonius*	75	2	479
Pausanias	Conspires against *Greece*	75	4	477
	Is starv'd	75	4	477
Cimon	Overcomes the *Persians* in a Naval Fight	77	3	470
	Is banish'd by *Ostracism*	82	3	450
	Overcomes the *Persians* by Sea and Land	82	3	450
	Dies	82	4	449
Lysander	Besieges *Athens*	93	4	405
	Takes it	94	1	404
Alcybiades	Is Banish'd	92	1	412
	Recall'd	92	2	413
	Dies	94	1	404
Thrasybulus	Commander of the *Athenians*	92	2	411
	Overcomes the thirty Tyrants	94	4	410
	Dies	99	4	308
Conon	Overcomes the *Lacedemonians* at *Cnidus*	96	3	394
	Fortifies the *Piræum*	96	4	393
Dion	His flight and Preparation for War against *Dionysius*	103	3	358
	He dies	106	2	355

Iphicrates	General of the *Athenians*			
	Obtains the Victory at *Corinth* and lays down his Command	96	4	393
Chabrias	General of the *Athenians*	99	2	383
	Overcomes the *Lecedemonians*	100	4	377
	Is kill'd by Fraud	101	4	376
Timotheus	General of the *Athenians*	101	1	376
Datames	Liv'd about	94	4	400
Epaminondes	Made Commander of the *Thebands*	101	2	375
	Overcomes the *Lacedemonians* at *Leuctra*	102	2	371
	Beſeiges *Sparta*	102	4	369
	Dies in the Battel at *Mantinea*	104	2	363
Pelopidas	Taken Captive	103	1	368
	Recover'd	103	2	367
Ageſilaus	Makes War in *Aſia*	96	2	395
	Againſt the *Perſians* in *Egypt*, where he dies, his age eighty four, his Reign forty-one	100	1	380
Eumenes	Is made Tutor to *Alexanders* Children	115	2	319
	His war againſt *Antigonus*	115	4	317
	Is taken and ſlain	116	2	315
Phocion	Puts to flight *Clitarchus* the Tyrant	109	4	340
Timoleon	Delivers from ſlavery *Corinth* and *Syracuſe*	159	2	143
	Overcomes the *Corinthians*	159	4	140
	Dies	106	2	137
Hamilchar	Governor of *Sicily* for the *Carthagenians*	132	4	259
Hannibal	Paſſes the *Alps*	104	4	218
	Gains the Victory at *Canna*	141	2	216
	Is overthrown by *Scipio*	144	3	202
	Flies to *Antiochus*	146	2	159
	Dies, his Age ſixty-three	149	3	182
M. P. Cato	Conſul	146	2	159
	Cenſor	149	1	184
	Dies	157	4	149
T. P. Atticus	Liv'd	178	4	63
C. Nepos	Liv'd	178	4	

A Catalogue of the Lives, with the Names of the ſeveral Gentlemen by whom they are done into *Engliſh*.

Miltiades.	Mr. *Tullie.*
Themiſtocles.	Mr. *Gardiner.*
Ariſtides.	Mr. *Mitchell.*
Pauſanias:	Mr. *Hoy.*
Cimon:	Mr. *Creed.*
Lyſander.	Mr. *Kirchevall.*
Alcibiades.	Mr. *Peers.*
Thraſybulus.	Mr. *H. Gilman.*
Conon.	Mr. *Fenefer.*
Dion.	Mr. *Clark.*
Iphicrates.	Mr. *Allam.*
Chabrias.	Mr. *Kennett.*
Timotheus.	The Honourable Mr. *Booth.*
Datames.	Mr. *Edwards.*
Epaminondas.	Mr. *Lane.*
Pelopidas.	Mr. *Creech.*
Ageſilaus.	Mr. *Scott.*
Eumenes.	Mr. *Ch. Alleſtree.*
Phocion.	Mr. *Todd.*
Timoleon.	Mr. *Cary.*
Hamilcar.	Mr. *Brideok.*
Hannibal:	The Honourable Mr. *Finch.*
Cato.	Mr. *Robinſon.*
P. Atticus.	Mr. *Morgan.*

THE

THE PREFACE OF CORN. NEPOS.

I *Do not doubt (my* Atticus*) but a great many will censure this way of Writing, not only as frivolous, but unworthy the Persons of Excellent Men, when they shall read these little Memoirs related of them; As who was the Master that taught* Epaminondas *Musick; and that it was reckon'd amongst his chief Accomplishments, that he had an handsome way of Dancing, and sung skilfully to the Flute. But this is the opinion only of those who being ignorant of the* Grecian *Learning, think nothing right but what strictly quadrates with their own Manners; but if these would but once Learn, that things Decent and Uncomely do not appear with the same Aspect of Honesty and Turpitude to all Persons, but that*

that every thing ought to be meaſur'd by the Inſtitutions of our Anceſtors; it will ſuppreſs their admiration, that in Celebrating the Vertues of the Grecians *we have followed their Cuſtoms; for it was not objected as a Scandal to* Cimon, *who was one of the Greateſt Perſonages amongſt the* Athenians, *that he Married his half Siſter which his Father had by a former Lady; ſince it was a familiar uſage, that obtain'd amongſt the reſt of the Citizens, tho it breaks in upon our ways of Living, and is counted Irreligion. It was a thing highly applauded in* Greece, *that young Lads were Catamites, and had many Rivals in that unnatural pleaſure; and at* Lacedæmon *there was not a Widow, tho of the Nobleſt Extraction, but would act her part in a Comedy, and take Money for it; In the ſame* Greece, *likewiſe it was matter of ſingular Triumph, to be proclaim'd a Conqueror in the Olympick Games; and yet to come forth upon the Stage, and be a ſpectacle of diverſion to the People, was not look'd upon by that Nation as any ways opprobrious; all which*

things

things notwithſtanding kindle our Averſion, as being partly downright Infamous, and partly below the Dignity of our Characters, and very far from being ſeemly or becoming; on the contrary, a great many actions carry with us the impreſſion of Decorum, which are thought very lewd by them; As for inſtance, what Roman *bluſheth to lead his Wife to an Entertainment? And what Mother of a Family will not reſide in the moſt frequented part of her houſe, and contribute her ſhare of Converſation at a Publick Feaſt? And yet 'tis much otherwiſe practis'd in* Greece, *for there they never come to any jolly Aſſignation, unleſs invited by their near Relations; and are never ſeen but in the moſt inward Apartments, which they call from thence (Gynæconitis) the Chamber of the Women; and no one's approaches were permitted thither but of thoſe who gain'd acceſs by the priviledg, either of Blood or Affinity. But the bulk of the Volume will not let me run through any more Examples of this kind; and Expedition calls upon me to give the laſt hand*

hand to thoſe things which I have begun; therefore we will come cloſe to the purpoſe, and in this Book draw to your view the Lives of theſe Illuſtrious Commanders.

THE

THE LIFE OF *MILTIADES.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Tullie*, of *Queen's* Coll. *Oxon.*

WHEN *Miltiades*, the Son of *Cimon*, an *Athenian*, was grown the moſt celebrated man of his Countrey, as well for his own native modeſty, as by reaſon of the ancient and renown'd Family whence he was deſcended; and was now arriv'd at thoſe years which were ſufficient to confirm his Fellow-Citizens in the high opinion they always

had of him: It happen'd, that the *Athenians* were upon a new project of conquering and transplanting Colonies to the *Cherſoneſe* [*a*]. And ſince the deſign was generally applauded, ſeveral being come in Volunteers, to offer their ſervice in the Expedition, it was thought fit to depute ſome of them to go to *Delphos*, and there conſult the Oracle of *Apollo* about the choice of a General. For at that time the *Thracians* were Maſters of thoſe Countries, who were not to be diſpoſſeſs'd but by force of Arms. When they were arriv'd at *Delphos*, and had addreſs'd themſelves to the Oracle, the Anſwer it return'd was poſitive and expreſs in the choice of *Miltiades*; whom if they would elect, *they ſhould ſucceed in their Undertaking*. *Miltiades* confirm'd in his Command by ſo great an Authority, ſets Sail for the *Cherſoneſe*, with a ſelect Band of Men; and touching upon *Lemnos* in his Road, would willingly have reduc'd the Inhabitants of that Iſland under the Dominion of the *Athenians*, requiring them immediately to ſurrender themſelves. But they laugh'd at the demand, and reply'd, *That yes, they would, when he ſhould ſail from Home to* Lemnos *with a Northerly Wind*; which is contrary to them who come from *Athens* to thoſe Coaſts. But *Miltiades*'s Affair

Affair would not admit of delay, and therefore without any farther attempt, he ſteer'd his courſe directly for the *Cherſoneſe*, where he ſafely arriv'd. And having in a ſhort time defeated the Forces of thoſe *Barbarians*, and made himſelf Maſter of the *Cherſoneſe*, he fortified the moſt convenient places of it with Caſtles and Citadels, and planted all the Country with his own Soldiers, whom he enrich'd with the Spoils of frequent Excurſions. Nor had Fortune a greater ſhare in the ſucceſs of this Expedition, than his own Prudence. For having routed the Enemy's Forces by the Valour of his own, he manag'd the whole Concern of the Victory with the greateſt Equity imaginable; and made the *Cherſoneſe* the place of his Reſidence. *For he acted as King amongſt them, tho he had not the Title*; and yet ow'd not his Power ſo much to the Abſoluteneſs of his Command, as to the Juſtice of his actions: For notwithſtanding the greatneſs of his Fortune, he was ready to do any acts of kindneſs for his Country-men, the *Athenians*: By which means he eſtabliſh'd his Authority not only in the Hearts and Affections of the *Athenians*, who gave it him, but of thoſe too over whom he was to exerciſe it. And having thus ſetled the Government of his late Conqueſt, he comes back to *Lemnos*,

and (by virtue of his former Compact with the Inhabitants) demands the Surrendry of their City into his hands: *For they had promis'd to yield themſelves up to him when he ſhould ſail from Home to* Lemnos *by a* North *Wind; which was now performed from his Habitation in the Cherſoneſe.* The *Carians*, who then inhabited the Iſland, tho they little expected ſuch a demand of the performance of a jocular promiſe, yet were forc'd to comply and quit the Iſland; not ſo much out of the ſenſe of any obligation they conceiv'd themſelves to lie under, as of the power and great ſucceſs of the Enemy whom they were to encounter. Nor was he leſs happy in reducing thoſe other Iſlands, called *Cyclades*, under the *Athenian* Dominion. In thoſe days *Darius*, the *Perſian* King, reſolving upon a War with the *Scythiane*, built a Bridge upon the *Danube*, for the paſſing over of his Army, and gave the chief Command of it, and of their reſpective Cities, to the Forces he had rais'd in *Ionia* and *Æolis*. *For he went upon this ground, That it would be the beſt Expedient to keep the* Greeks *who inhabited* Aſia, *in ſubjection during the War, to entruſt their Friends and Country-men with the Command of his Towns, who could expect no Quarter if he chanc'd to be defeated.* Amongſt the reſt of theſe Governors was *Miltiades*,

Miltiades, who, when he had continual news brought him of the ill ſucceſs of the *Perſian* Arms againſt the *Scythians*, exhorted the Commanders of the Bridge, *Not to baulk ſo fair an opportunity of freeing* Greece *from the* Perſian *Yoke*; alledging, *That if* Darius *and his Forces were but defeated now, not only all* Europe *would be free from the apprehenſions of his Arms for the future, but that the poor* Greeks *likewiſe who inhabited* Aſia, *would be reſcued from the ſlavery they underwent, and the dangers they were expos'd to from their* Perſian *Maſters; and that if the Bridge were but demoliſhed, the Deſign muſt of neceſſity take effect, and the* Perſians *periſh either by the Sword or Famine in a few days.* When ſeveral of the Company had joyn'd with, and ſeconded *Miltiades*, *Heſtiæus Mileſius* crav'd leave to diſſent from them, objecting, *That tho it might be expedient for the generality of the People to be freed from their ſubjection to* Darius, *yet it could by no means be ſo to them, who bore Command under Him: That their Power and Intereſt was imbark'd in the ſame bottom with* Darius's *Empire; which if once overthrown, their Employs muſt expire with it, and they ſuffer by the hands of their own Fellow-Citizens. And therefore, that he was ſo far from concurring with them, that for his part he thought it highly their Intereſt, that the* Per-

ſian *Empire ſhould be upheld and eſtabliſhed.* When *Miltiades* underſtood by the ſenſe of the Company, that the point would be carried againſt him, and eaſily imagining, that of ſo many who were privy to the Conſult, ſome would certainly come in and inform the King of the Plot, He thought it his ſafeſt way to leave the *Cherſoneſe*, and return to *Athens*. And tho indeed the majority of the Cabal thought not fit then to concur with him in the Deſign, yet was it a generous propoſal in him, in that he rather conſulted the Liberty of his Country, than his own private Intereſt.

Darius, after his return from *Europe* into *Aſia*, being advis'd by his Council to try if he could reduce *Greece* under his Dominions, fitted out a Fleet of five hundred Sail of Ships in order to that deſign; whereof he made *Datis* and *Artaphernes* Admirals, and gave them the Command of 200000. Foot, and 10000. Horſe; alledging the affront that the *Athenians* had put upon him in aſſiſting the *Ionians* in the taking of *Sardis*, and putting the Gariſon to the Sword, as the ground and occaſion of the War againſt them. The *Perſians* landing at *Eubœa*, immediately made themſelves Maſters of *Eretria*, and ſent the Inhabitants of the Country into *Aſia* to *Darius*. From thence they march-

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ed as far as *Attica*, into the Fields of *Marathon*, which is but about ten miles from the Town. The *Athenians*, tho in a great conſternation at the near approaches of ſo powerful an Enemy, yer ſolicited none but the *Lacedemonians* for their aſſiſtance; to whom they diſpatch'd *Philippus* (one of thoſe Couriers whom they call'd [*b*] *Hemerodromi*) to acquaint them what urgent occaſions they had for their ſpeedy Relief. In the mean time they choſe ten Great Officers to command the Army, whereof *Miltiades* was one; amongſt whom it was hotly debated, *Whether it were more adviſable for them to rely upon the ſtrength of the Town, or to march out and fight the Enemy.* *Miltiades* preſs'd them with greater earneſtneſs than any of the reſt, to pitch their Tents as ſoon as poſſibly they could; *for that by this means the Citizens would be excited to behave themſelves more bravely, when they ſaw how highly their Valour was rely'd upon, and the Enemy's Advances would be retarded, when they ſhould obſerve with what a ſmall handful of Men they reſolved to fight them.* There were none who actually aſſiſted the *Athenians* in this juncture but the *Platæans*, who furniſh'd them with a ſupply of a thouſand Men, which made them compleatly ten thouſand ſtrong; a ſmall number, but fir'd with a wonderful deſire to be in action.

Miltiades by this Counsel, became more considerable than his Collegues; for 'twas principally upon the great Authority of his advice, that the *Athenians* marched their Forces out of the Town, where they encamped conveniently, and the next day after, at the foot of an Hill, joyned Battel with all the Courage imaginable, and the advantage of a new stratagem, on their side: For they had block'd up the passages with Trees in several places, to the intent they might both be sheltered by the tops of the Mountains, and that the Trees in the way might hinder the Enemies Horse from breaking in upon them. *Datis*, tho he saw the *Athenians* had manifestly the advantage of the place, yet relying upon the vast odds he had in the number, and considering also, the *Spartan* Auxiliaries were not yet arrived, resolved to engage them; and accordingly led up an hundred thousand of his Infantry, and ten thousand Horse, with which he gave them Battel; wherein the *Athenians* so far out-did their Enemies, that they defeated ten times the number of their own Forces; and so terrified and discouraged the *Persians*, that they never offered to make towards their Camp again, but fled to their Vessels. Than which Fight never certainly was any thing more illustriously Great and Glorious: For never

ver did ſo ſmall an handful of Men conquer ſo numerous and powerful an Army. And here it may not be improper to remark what *Miltiades* had for the Reward of ſo great an action; whereby we may perceive, *how the ſame Humor and Genius runs through all Bodies Politic.* For as the Marks of Honour which the *Romans* formerly fixed upon the braveſt Men, were very rare and inconſiderable, and for that Reaſon more ſignally Honourable; tho now indeed they are grown common and extravagant: So we find it was anciently among the *Athenians*; for this great *Miltiades*, to whom all *Greece*, as well as *Athens*, ow'd their ſafety, had only this Honour done him, That when the Fight at *Marathon* was painted in the Gallery called [c] *Pœcile*, he was drawn the firſt of all the ten Commanders, exhorting his Soldiers, and giving Battel to the Enemy. And yet the ſame People, after they had enlarged their Territories, and became once corrupted with the Bribery of their Magiſtrates, decreed no leſs than three hundred Statues to the Honour of *Demetrius Phalereus.* After this Engagement at *Marathon*, the *Athenians* made Him Admiral of a Fleet of Seventy Sail of Ships, to make War upon thoſe Iſlands which had aſſiſted the *Barbarians*: Several whereof ſubmitted without reſiſtance,

ſtance, and ſome he took by aſſault. Amongſt the reſt that held out, was the Iſland *Parus*, a rich and arrogant People, whom when he could by no means perſwade to a Surrendry, he landed his Men, Inveſted the City, and deprived them of all ſupplies; and had by the help of Sconces, gradually made his approaches ſo near to the Walls, that he was juſt upon the point of carrying the Town, when there happened, I know not how, a Grove of Trees to be fired a far off in the Continent in the night-time; which as ſoon as it was perceived by the Burgers and the Beſiegers, they both imagined it ſome Signal given by the Scouts to the *Perſian* Fleet; whereupon the Beſieged became leſs inclined to a Surrendry; and *Miltiades* fearing a ſudden onſet from the Navy Royal, ſet fire to his VVorks, and returned to *Athens* only with the ſame number of Ships they had at firſt given him the Command of; which ſo enrag'd the *Athenians*, that they impeached him of Treaſon againſt the State, *That when he might have took* Parus, *he was bribed from proſecuting the Deſign by the King of Perſia.* He was at this time laid up of the wonnds which he had received in the Siege; and therefore becauſe he was not in a capacity of anſwering for himſelf, his Brother *Tiſagoras* appeared for him. The whole Evidence

vidence being given in against him, the Crime was not found Capital, but he was fin'd however fifty Talents, the Sum that was expended in Equipping the whole Fleet: And being non-solvent, was cast into Prison, where he died. But tho the Business of *Parus* was the pretext, yet was it not the real cause of his prosecution; for the *Athenians*, who still retained the Tyranny of *Pisastratus* (which had raged but a few years before) fresh in their memories, were extreme apprehensive of the growing power of any Fellow-Citizen. And they imagined, that *Miltiades*, who had born so great Offices and Commands, would not afterwards be easily content to move in a narrower and private Sphere; and that since he had been us'd to Rule, the force of meer Custom would incline him to aspire after it still. For all the while he dwelt in the *Chersonese*, he had the Government wholly in his own hands, and was stiled a Tyrant, but governed according to Law; for he owed not his Power to the hands of Violence, but to the good Will of his Subjects, which he maintained by his own gentleness and moderation. *Now they who had the supreme Government in any Commonwealth, during Life, which formerly enjoyed the liberty of Annual Elections, were called Tyrants.* But *Miltiades* was a person of great Humanity, and so ex-

exceedingly affable and obliging, that the meaneſt of his Subjects had free and eaſie Acceſs to him. A mighty deference was paid him every where. His Name grew great and venerable; and he had the character of an incomparable Soldier. And upon theſe motives the People thought it more ſecure to take him out of the way (tho he deſerved it not), than to live under the continual apprehenſions of danger from ſo great a Man.

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[a] *The* Thracian Cherſoneſe, *or* Peninſula. [b] *Stout young Fellows, who were diſpatched abroad upon State-Affairs, and performed their Errand with great Expedition.* [c] ποικίλη, *ſo called from the variety of Pictures wherewith it was adorned.*

THE

THE LIFE OF *THEMISTOCLES.*

Done into *English* by Mr. *Gardiner*, L. L. B. and Fellow of *All-Souls* Coll. *Oxon.*

THEMISTOCLES, the Son of *Neocles*, was an *Athenian*. The Vices which debauch'd the beginning of his Youth, were reformed by many Eminent Vertues which appeared in his more mature Age; so that he was excelled by none, and there were but few who might be thought his Equals. But to trace him from his Cradle: His Father *Neocle* was a Gentleman, who married

ed a Citizen of [a] *Acarnania*, of whom *Themiſtocles* was born. His profuſe and diſſolure life when he was young, with the neglect of his Eſtate and VVorldly Concerns, were ſo diſpleaſing to his Parents, that they diſinherited him: VVhich diſgrace did rather animate than depreſs his Spirits: For when he conſidered, that his Reputation thus loſt, could not eaſily be regained, he devoted himſelf wholly to the ſervice of the Commonwealth, grew very complaiſant to his Friends, and made it his buſineſs to be popular. He was often made an Arbitrator to reconcile private Differences, and was very frequent at the publick Aſſemblies. There was no buſineſs of more than ordinary Concern, but it paſs'd through his hands; for he quickly apprehended what was moſt neceſſary to be done, and expreſſed the ſame in an eaſie and familiar ſtile. Neither was he leſs ready in managing of any Affair than in the contriving of it; becauſe (as *Thucydides* ſays) he had a true judgment of things preſent, and would give a ſhrew'd gueſs at what was to come. So that upon the account of theſe his extraordinary parts, he in a ſhort time became of great Repute among the *Athenians*.

The

The first Honour which was conferr'd upon him, was the Government of the Commonwealth in the *Corcyræan* VVar; for the carrying on of which he being chosen General, made the *Athenians*, not only in that, but also in all after-Expeditions, more VVarlike than they had formerly been. For whereas the publick Money which their Silver-Mines brought them in, was every year lavishly spent by the prodigality of their Magistrates, he prevailed so far with the People, as to perswade them with that Money to build a Fleet of an hundred Ships. VVhich being in a short time effected, he first subdued his Enemies the *Corcyræans*, and then scowred the Sea of all the Pirates, with which it was much infested. By this Action he mightily enrich'd the *Athenians*, and made them most expert Sea-Soldiers. And how much this conduc'd to the safety of all *Greece*, may be easily gathered from the *Persian* VVar: For when *Xerxes* invaded all *Europe* both by Sea and Land, with such puissant Armies as no Prince, either before or since his time, has as yet had; with a Fleet of twelve hundred Men of VVar, attended with two thousand Victualing Ships; and Land-Forces, to the number of seven hundred thousand Foot, and four hundred thousand Horse. The news of whose approach being brought

brought to *Greece*, with a report, that his designs were chiefly against the *Athenians*, to revenge his defeat at *Marathon*, they immediately sent to *Delphos* to consult the Oracle, what would be best for them to do as to their present Affairs. *Pythia* advises them to fortifie themselves with a *Wooden Wall*. The meaning of which Answer, when no body understood, *Themistocles* thus expounded it, telling them, That it was the advice of *Apollo*, that they should take their Families and their Goods with them into their Ships; for those the Oracle meant by the *Wooden Wall*. VVhich Counsel they approved of, and they built as many Galleys as they had Ships before, and so carried all their Moveables, some to *Salamis*, and some to *Træzene*. Their Tower and their Images they delivered up to the care of their Priests and a few old Men, and so they left the Town.

This Counsel was very ungrateful to most of the Cities, because they had much rather have been engaged in a Land War. Therefore a select Company are sent under the Command of *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, to possess themselves of *Thermopylæ*, and to stop the farther progress of the *Barbarians*. But they were overpowered by the Forces of so great an Enemy, and were all cut off in that very place. The

first

first Engagement of the two Fleets (that of the *Grecians* consisting of three hundred Sail, whereof two belong'd to the *Athenians*) was at *Artemisium*, between *Eubœa* and the Continent. The reason why *Themistocles* made choice of those Streights was, lest so great a multitude might have surrounded him. Here, tho both Navies retreated upon equal terms, yet the *Athenians* durst not maintain their station; because they fear'd, that if part of the Enemy's Fleet should get beyond *Eubœa*, they would engage them on both sides. Upon which account they were forc'd to leave the *Artemisium*, and sail to *Salamis*, which is over against *Athens*.

But *Xerxes* having gain'd *Thermopylæ*, immediately marched to *Athens*, where meeting with no opposition, he kill'd the Priests which he found in the Tower, and fir'd the City. At the news of which the Sea-men were much terrified; and when they durst not stand to their Colours, and 'twas the advice of most of them, that every one should go home to their own Houses, and defend themselves as well as they could within their Walls, *Themistocles* alone stood undaunted, telling them, *That so long as they held together in one Body they might equal the Enemy*; but protesting, *if once dispers'd they must necessarily perish.* And that that

would be their fate he affirm'd to *Eurybiades*, a King of the *Lacedæmonians*, who then was Admiral: Whom when he found not to be concern'd ſo much as he could have wiſh'd, he ſent one of his Servants (in whom he could moſt confide) to *Xerxes* by night, to tell him, *That his Enemies were upon their flight; and that if they ſhould now eſcape, he muſt expect a long and difficult War; for then he would be forc'd to purſue them ſingly; but if he would now engage them, he might in a ſhort time deſtroy them all.* This ſtratagem ſo far prevail'd, that his own Soldiers were compell'd to fight, tho againſt their wills. Whereupon *Xerxes*, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the trick which was put upon him, fell upon them the next day in ſo narrow a Sea, that his whole Fleet could not engage; a place very diſadvantageous to himſelf, but on the contrary, mighty advantageous to the Enemy: So that he was conquered rather by the Policy of *Themiſtocles*, than by the Arms of *Greece*.

Altho *Xerxes* manag'd this Action extremely ill, yet after all he had ſo great Reſerves, that even with them he might have beaten the *Athenians*; but for the preſent he was forc'd to retreat. For *Themiſtocles* fearing leſt he ſhould go on with the War, ſent him word, That the

breaking

breaking down of the Bridge which he had built over the *Helleſpont*, was then in agitation, to exclude his paſſage into *Aſia*; and made him believe it. For that Journey which coſt him ſix months travel when he came for *Greece*, he perform'd the very ſame way in leſs than than thirty days at his return, looking upon himſelf not as conquer'd by *Themiſtocles*, but preſerv'd. Thus by the Policy of one man, *Greece* was reſtor'd to its liberty, and *Aſia* made ſubject to *Europe*. This other Victory was not at all inferior to that at *Marathon*: For here alſo at *Salamis*, after the ſame manner a few Ships defeated the greateſt Fleet that has been in the memory of man.

Great was *Themiſtocles* in this War, and as great in Peace. For when the *Athenians* had only the *Phaleric*, a ſmall and inconvenient Port, by his advice they built a triple Haven at *Pyræa*, and encompaſs'd it with ſuch Walls, that it equall'd the City in glory, and excell'd it in uſefulneſs. He alſo rebuilt the *Athenian* VValls at his own hazard. For the *Lacedæmonians* having got a plauſible Reaſon, *viz. the Incurſions of the Barbarians*, deny'd that any City ought to be built but at *Peloponneſus*, leſt there ſhould be any Fortifications which might harbour their Enemies; and therefore they

endeavour'd to put a ſtop to their Buildings. But their deſigns were quite contrary to their pretences: For thoſe two Victories, that at *Marathon*, and the other at *Salamis*, made the *Athenians* ſo conſiderable all the VVorld over, that the *Lacedæmonians* were afraid they would have contended with them for the Soveraignty; wherefore they uſed all means to keep them as low as poſſibly they could. For after they heard that the VValls were begun, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Athens* to forbid their proceedings. VVhilſt they were there, they deſiſted, and told them, that they would ſend Ambaſſadors to treat with them about that Affair. This Embaſſy *Themiſtocles* undertook, and went firſt himſelf, ordering the reſt of the Ambaſſadors not to follow till they thought the VValls were high enough. In the mean time all the City, of what condition ſoever, whether Bond or Free, aſſiſted in the work; neither did they ſpare any place, whether ſacred or prophane, publick or private; but took from all parts what materials would moſt conduce to the Fortifications. So that their VValls were built with the Ruins of their Temples and Monuments.

Themiſtocles, when he came to *Lacedæmon*, did not immediately deſire Audience of the Magiſtrate, but ſpun out the time

time as long as he could, making this his excuſe, That he expected his Collegues. But whilſt the *Lacedæmonians* complain that the VVorks nevertheleſs went on, and that *Themiſtocles* endeavour'd to deceive them, in the interim the reſt of the Ambaſſadors arrive; by whom when he was given to underſtand, that the Fortifications were almoſt finiſh'd, he addreſs'd himſelf to the *Ephori*, the chief Magiſtrates among the *Lacedæmonians*, and told them, *That what they heard concerning their Fortifications was falſe; wherefore he thought it but reaſonable that they ſhould ſend ſome perſons of Truſt and Quality, to whom credit might be given, to enquire into that affair; and in the mean time they might keep him as their Pledg.* They granted his requeſt, and accordingly three Ambaſſadors are ſent, Men of great Honour and Repute, on whom *Themiſtocles* order'd his Collegues to attend, forewarning them, not to ſuffer the *Lacedæmonian* Ambaſſadors to return till he himſelf was ſent back. VVhen he thought they were arriv'd at *Athens*, he waited upon the Senate and Magiſtracy, and told them very frankly, *That by his Advice the* Athenians *had Wall'd in their Publick, their Tutelar and Houſhold Gods, that they might with the more eaſe defend them from their Enemies* (*which thing was juſti-*

fiable by the Common Law of Nations); *neither did they do this with a deſign to incommode* Greece; *for their City was, as 'twere, a Bulwark againſt the* Barbarians, *having twice routed the* Perſian *Armada.* He told them, *That they did not act like juſt and honeſt men, who rather regarded what conduc'd moſt to their own Greatneſs, than what might be profitable to all* Greece; *wherefore if they thought ever to have thoſe Ambaſſadors return whom they had ſent to* Athens, *they muſt releaſe him, otherwiſe they muſt never expect to receive them again into their own Country.*

Yet after all this, he could not evade the envy of his Fellow-Citizens. For even the ſame jealouſie [*a*] which condemn'd *Miltiades*, baniſh'd *Themiſtocles.* After which he went to *Argos*; where living in much ſplendor, upon the account of his great Endowments, the *Lacedæmonians* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Athens*, with this Accuſation againſt him, *That he had made a League with the King of* Perſia *to deſtroy* Greece. For which Crime, tho abſent, he was condemn'd of *Treaſon.* Which thing ſo ſoon as he heard of, not thinking himſelf ſafe at *Argos*, he went to *Corcyra*; where underſtanding that the Governors of the City were very fearful leſt the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* ſhould declare VVar againſt them upon his

his account, he fled to *Admetus*, the King of the *Molossians*, who had formerly entertain'd him. But at his first arrival, not finding the King, that he might be received by him with the greater fidelity, he took his little Daughter and carried her with him into the Sanctuary, a Custom which is very religiously observ'd among the *Molossians*; and from thence he would not stir, till the King had given him his Hand, and receiv'd him into his Patronage; which he afterwards faithfully perform'd. For when he was demanded by the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, he would not deliver him up, but advis'd him to consult his own safety; for 'twas not likely that he should be secure in a place so nigh his Enemies. Therefore he commanded him to be carried to *Pydna*, and sent a sufficient Guard with him. VVhereupon he went a Ship-board *incognito*; but a great Storm, which then happen'd, drove the Vessel upon the Island *Naxus*, where at that time the *Athenian* Army lay. *Themistocles* thought that if they should put in there, he must necessarily perish: so that by this ill fortune he was forc'd to discover himself to the Master of the Ship, promising great Rewards if he would preserve him. The Master commiserating the Condition of so great a Man, kept his Ship at Anchor

for a day and a night, at a good distance from the Island, and would not suffer any man to go out of it. From whence he sail'd to *Ephesus*, and there he landed *Themistocles*, who afterwards sufficiently rewarded him for his great service.

I know that many Authors have reported, that *Themistocles* went into *Asia* whilst *Xerxes* was King; but I think *Thucydides* is rather to be credited, who living about that Age, wrote an History of those times, and was also of the same City; and he says, that he came to *Artaxerxes*, and wrote him a Letter after this manner: *I* Themistocles *am come unto you; I, who brought so many Calamities by the* Grecians *upon your Family, when I was forc'd to make War with your Father to defend my own Country. But I did him greater Services afterwards, when I was safe, and he in danger; for when he would not go back into* Asia, *after the Battel at* Salamis, *I sent him word, That it was then in agitation, that the Bridge which he had made over the* Hellespont *should be broken down, and that he should be surrounded by his Enemies; by which message he escap'd the danger. But now here I my self am come, banish'd from all* Greece, *humbly to intreat your Alliance, which if I may but obtain, you shall find me as great a Friend to you, as I have been a dangerous Enemy to your Father.*

Father. But I would deſire a Years time to conſider of thoſe Affairs, concerning which I intend to treat with you, and when that is expir'd, to permit me to come unto you.

The King admiring the greatneſs of his Spirit, and being deſirous to make ſuch a man his Friend, granted his Requeſt. All which time he ſpent in his Studies, and in learning of the *Perſian* Language; in which he became ſo great a Proficient, that he diſcours'd the King more Elegantly than any of the Natives could. And when he had made ſeveral promiſes to him, and one eſpecially of that which was moſt grateful, *viz. the deſtruction of* Greece, *if he would be pleas'd to follow his Advice.* Being highly rewarded by *Artaxerxes*, be return'd again into *Aſia*, and dwelt at *Magneſia*, which City the King gave to him, uſing this expreſſion, *That it would keep him in Bread* (for the Revenues of that Country amounted to fifty Talents yearly), Lampſacum *would afford him Wine, and* Myuntes *Victuals.* There remain'd but two Monuments of him in our time, his Sepulcher, near the Town, in which he was bury'd, and his Statues in the *Forum* of *Magneſia.* Concerning whoſe Death Authors much differ; but *Thucydides* ſeems to us to be moſt authentick, who ſays, that he dy'd of a Diſeaſe at *Magneſia.* Neither does he deny, but that

that there was a report of his voluntarily poiſoning himſelf, when he deſpair'd of Conquering *Greece*, as he had promis'd the King. The ſame Author alſo ſays, That his friends bury'd his Bones in *Athens* by ſtealth, becauſe the Laws forbid any one to be there interr'd who is Condemned of *Treaſon*.

[*a*] *The* Oſtraciſm.

THE

THE LIFE OF *ARISTIDES.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Mitchell*, M. A. of *Trin.* Coll. *Oxon.*

ARISTIDES, the Son of *Lyſimachus*, an *Athenian*, came ſo near to *Themiſtocles*, that he conteſted his Preeminence; which made them detract from each other's Reputation, and gave a full Example of the great Power which Eloquence has over Innocence: For altho the Integrity of *Ariſtides*

riſtides was ſuch, that (for ought we yet know) He was the only Perſon whom the World has hitherto thought fit to Entitle *The Juſt*; yet He was ſo run down by *Themiſtocles*, as to be Condemn'd, by the *Oſtraciſm*, to Ten Years Baniſhment. Perceiving that the angry Multitude would not be appeas'd, he yeilds to the Neceſſity of his Misfortune. At his going off, he obſerves one ſubſcribing to his Baniſhment, and asks him *his Reaſon for it, and what has* Ariſtides *done, that he muſt be puniſh'd in ſo ſevere a manner?* The Accuſer replies, *That indeed he did not know* Ariſtides, *but was not ſatisfied, that He, above all Men, ſhould ſo earneſtly endeavour at the Name of Juſt.* He did not ſtay out the whole time of his Baniſhment; for, within Six Years, *Xerxes* falling into *Greece*, he was recall'd by an Act of the People. He Engag'd in the Sea-Fight at *Salamis*, which was before his Reſtauration. He led up the *Athenians* in the Battel of *Platææ*, wherein *Mardonius* was ſlain, and the *Perſian* Army routed. I find nothing of his Exploits in Military Affairs, except in this Command; but the Effects of his Sincerity, his Juſtice, and his Goodneſs, are not eaſily related; particularly, 'twas by his

his Conduct, that, when he and *Pauſanias* (who was Commander at the Overthrow of *Mardonius*) were in the ſame *Grecian* Fleet, the Dominion of the Seas was transferr'd from the *Lacedemonians* to the *Athenians*; the former, before that time, having been *Lords* both by Sea and Land. The Inſolence of *Pauſanias*, and the Juſtice of *Ariſtides*, were the Cauſe that moſt of the Cities of *Greece* made a Defenſive League with the *Athenians*, and offer'd to fight under them, againſt the *Perſians*, if there ſhould be occaſion. *Ariſtides* was the Man pitch'd upon to ſettle the *Quota* of each City, for the Building of Ships, and Raiſing an Army. 'Twas by his Advice, that Four Hundred and Sixty Talents were every Year laid up at *Delos*, which was appointed to be the place of the Common Treaſury; but afterward all the Money was removed to *Athens*. As for his Moderation, there can be no greater proof of it than that, whereas he had ſo great Preferments, yet he died ſo very poor, that he left ſcarce enough to defray the Charges of his Burial; ſo that after his Death (which was about Four Years after the Baniſhment

of

of *Themistocles*), his Daughters were maintain'd at the Charge of the Publick; and, at their Marriage, had Fortunes paid them out of the Common Treasure.

THE

THE LIFE OF *PAUSANIAS.*

Done into *English* by Mr. *Hoy*, Fellow of St. *John*'s Coll. *Oxon.*

PAUSANIAS, the *Lacedæmonian*, was a Great Man, but various in all Conditions of Life; for as he was conspicuous for eminent Vertues, he was no less overborn by the contrary Vices. The Glory of that famous Action at *Platæa* is ascrib'd to him. For in that Fight two hundred thousand chosen Foot, and twenty thousand Horse, were shamefully beat out of *Greece* by an inconsiderable Handful of Men

Men under his Conduct; and their Lieutenant-General, *Mardonius*, a *Mede*, the King's [a] Brother-in-Law, of ſingular Perſonal Fortitude and Prudence, above all the *Perſians*, left dead on the place. Fluſht with the ſucceſs of this Victory, his Ambition began to be tampering, and he carry'd an Eye upon greater deſigns: But in the very beginning he met with this rub in his way; having ſent to the Temple of *Delphos* a Golden *Tripod*, found amongſt the Spoils, with an Epigram inſcrib'd on it, to this effect, *That by his Conduct the* Barbarians *were cut off at* Platææ, *and in Acknowledgment of the Victory, that Preſent by Him Dedicated to* Apollo. The *Lacedæmonians* caus'd the Verſes to be Raz'd out, and in their ſtead Engrav'd only the Names of ſuch Confederate Cities as had been inſtrumental in defeating the *Perſians*.

After this, *Pauſanias* was again intruſted with a Common Fleet of the Aſſociates for *Cyprus* and the *Helleſpont*, to diſmantle the Garriſons of the *Barbarians* in thoſe parts. In which adventure meeting with the like ſucceſs, he began again to behave himſelf more inſolently, and aimed at greater things than ever. For in the Sack of *Byzantium*, taking many of the *Perſian* Nobility, and among them ſome of the Blood Royal, he remitted them pri-

privately to *Xerxes*, and ſent with them *Gongylus*, an *Eretrian*, with Letters to the King (as *Thucydides* delivers) in theſe words; Pauſanias, *the* Spartan *General, underſtanding that ſome taken at* Byzantium *were nearly related to you, has made you a Preſent of them, and withall deſires to Contract an Alliance with you. Wherefore, if you approve of the Propoſals, he ſues for your Daughter in Marriage, on condition that by his means both* Sparta, *and the reſt of* Greece *be put into your Hands. If you think theſe things worth your Conſideration, ſend an approv'd Miniſter, to whom things may be communicated more particularly.* The King extremely well ſatisfied at the ſafety of ſo many perſonages ſo near to himſelf, immediately diſpatch'd away *Artabazus* to *Pauſanias* with this Anſwer, *That he applauded the Deſign, and deſir'd nothing ſhould be omitted which might be ſerviceable to it; promiſing, in caſe it took effect, he ſhould never meet a Repulſe in any thing he would ſue for. Pauſanias* being inform'd of the King's pleaſure, grew ſo forward in the buſineſs, that he incurr'd the ſuſpition of the *Lacedæmonians*, who remanded him home, where he was queſtion'd for his Life, but the Allegations charg'd upon him amounting to no more than *High Miſdemeanours*, he was only fin'd, and diſ-

charg'd from returning to the Navy.

Yet, not long after, of his own head he went back to the Army, where he follow'd ſuch indiſcreet and raſh practices as confirm'd what hitherto had only been ſuſpected of him. He laid aſide not only the ſeverer Moralities of his own Country, but their Faſhions and Dreſs. He appeared in Pomp and Splendor like a Foreign King, and came into publick in the *Median* Habit. His Perſon was guarded by a Retinue of *Medes* and *Egyptians*; his Entertainments were after the *Perſian* manner, with greater Luxury than his Friends thought allowable; he was hard of Acceſs; he anſwer'd proudly, and commanded cruelly. In fine, he refus'd to return to *Sparta*, but withdrew to *Getonæ*, a place in the Country of *Troas*, where he engag'd in Meaſures deſtructive to his Country and Himſelf. The *Lacedæmonians* being certified of this, ſent Deputies to him with the [*b*] *Scytala*, in which after their manner it was ſpecified, That unleſs he immediately return'd home, they would paſs a *Bill of Attainder* againſt him. Upon the receipt of this News he went home, hoping to diſperſe the Clouds which hung over him, by the power of his Money and Intereſt there. But the *Ephori* ſecur'd him immediately, in the Name and Behalf of the Com-

Community. For by the Conſtitution of that Government, this Power over the Prince is repos'd in the hands of any one of the *Ephori*. However, in ſome time he got rid of that Grievance, but could not ſo eaſily remove the ſuſpition he lay under; for it was ſtill miſtruſted he dealt underhand with the King. There are a ſort of People among the *Lacedæmonians* they call *Helotes*, who are imploy'd in manuring the Lands, and performing all other Offices of Slaves: Theſe alſo it was thought he had endeavour'd to debauch to his Deſigns with hopes of *Liberty*. But the Evidence againſt him being meerly Circumſtantial, they deferr'd proceeding againſt a Perſon of his Name and Quality upon ſurmiſes and preſumptions, till time ſhould make a fuller Diſcovery.

While theſe things were in agitation, *Argilius* (a young man whom *Pauſanias* had formerly defil'd to ſatisfie his unnatural Love) being ſent by him with a Packquet to *Artabazus*, a ſuſpition ran in his head, that there was ſomewhat in it nearly concerned himſelf, becauſe he had obſerv'd, that none who went thither on the like Errand had ever return'd back. Upon this, breaking up the Seals, he found, that on the delivery of the Letters he was to have been made away; beſides many things relating to the tranſactions

then on foot between the King and *Pausanias*; all which, with the Letters themselves, he immediately communicated to the *Ephori*. But here the wariness and moderation of the *Lacedæmonians* is not to be pass'd by, who suffered not themselves to be wrought upon, even by such proof, to take *Pausanias* into Custody; but forbore to use any rigor towards him, till such time as his own Verbal Evidence should be produc'd against himself; and accordingly they gave instructions to the Discoverer how to manage this affair. Now there was a Temple of *Neptune* at *Tænaris*, which the *Greeks* held inviolable; hither the Discoverer was to fly for Sanctuary, and kneel down before the Altar; near this they had contriv'd a place under ground, from whence any one might hear what was discours'd to *Argilius*, where several of the *Ephori* had privately posted themselves. *Pausanias*, as soon as he heard that *Argilius* was fled to the Temple, hastning after him in great disturbance, found him on his Knees before the Altar; and enquiring into the occasion of that sudden motion, he open'd to him the Contents of the Letters. At this *Pausanias*'s disturbance increased so far, that he intreated him not to discover or betray one who had formerly deserv'd so well of him; promising for the future, if he

he would gratifie him ſo far, and be aſſiſting to him under the preſent Diſtreſs, he ſhould find it of very great advantage to him.

The *Ephori*, after this Diſcovery, concluding it ſafer to apprehend him in the City, return'd thither. And *Pauſanias* having, as he thought, made up the buſineſs with *Argilius*, was arriv'd on the place where it was order'd he ſhould be ſeiz'd: when he perceiv'd a Deſign out againſt him, from the looks of one of the *Ephori*, who had a deſire to advertiſe him of it. By this means he got into the Temple of *Minerva*, call'd [c] *Chalciœcus*, a little before his Purſuers; but to hinder his eſcape thence, the *Ephori* cauſed the Gates to be block'd up, and threw down the Roof upon his Head, that he might have the ſpeedier Death. His Mother is reported to have been living at that time; and, altho then of very great Age, when ſatisfied of the Treaſonable Practices of her Son, to have brought the firſt Stone in order to block up the entrance into the Temple. Thus *Pauſanias* ſullied the Glory of a Great General by an Ignominious Death. Being taken out of the Rubbiſh half dead, he immediately expir'd. And tho ſome were for diſpoſing the Body as was uſual to ſuch who had been Executed, yet the majority were a-

gainſt it: ſo he was bury'd far from the place where he dy'd. However, afterwards, by the Advice of the *Delphic* Oracle, he was took up again, and Interr'd where he ended his Life.

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[a] *So* Gener *is alſo uſed by* Juſtin, *and in this place cannot be meant otherwiſe, becauſe his Lady was* Xerxes's *Siſter.* [b] *A ſort of Tally, by which the General was inform'd of their Will. Deſcrib'd by* Plutarch *in the Life of* Lyſander. [c] Suid. *ſays from her Brazen Temple.*

THE

THE LIFE OF *CIMON.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Creed*, M. A. of *Corpus Chriſti* Coll. *Oxon.*

CIMON, the Son of *Miltiades*, an *Athenian*, was very unfortunate in his Youth; for his Father not being able to pay his Fine to the People, and dying a Priſoner of the State, *Cimon* (as Heir only to his Debts and Miſery) was Arreſted in the ſame Action, and Awarded to ſucceed him in his Confinement. Nor by the Laws of *Athens* could he be Releas'd till he had paid

the Mulct impos'd on his Father. But he had Espous'd his half-Sister *Elpinice*, not so much to gratifie his Affections, as to follow the Mode of the Country; for 'twas common with the *Athenians* to marry their Sisters by their Fathers-side. One *Callias* (a Man of a fair Estate, but of mean Extraction and Parentage; for out of the Silver-Mines he rais'd his Fortune and Wealth) being his Rival, propos'd this Expedient to *Cimon*, for his Redemption, *viz.* That if he would yeild to a Divorce and Resignation of her to him, he would satisfie the Publick Treasury, and purchase his Freedom. But when *Cimon* generously scorn'd to part with his Wife and Sister on such base mercenary Conditions, she (out of Affection and Charity to him) declar'd, That she could not suffer the Son of the Great *Miltiades* to be perpetually Damn'd to a Prison, when it lay in her power to procure his Enlargement. Therefore she resolv'd to marry *Callias*, provided he perform'd his part of the Covenant.

Cimon having thus obtain'd his Liberty, soon became a Chief Minister of State. For he was a great Master of Rhetoric, a very Generous Person, an admirable Civilian, and an expert Soldier; for his Father gave him his Youthful Education in a Campaign. Therefore he kept the

Citizens

Citizens in awe and subjection; and in the Army he was almost absolute. The first of this great Commander's Actions prov'd fortunate at the River *Strymon*, where he routed a vast Body of the *Thracians*. He built the Town of *Amphipolis*, and planted there a Colony of ten thousand Natives of *Athens*. At *Mycale* he also Triumph'd over the Captive *Cyprian*, and *Phœnician* Navy, consisting of two hundred Sail. Neither were his Enterprizes by Land that day less signal than his Victory by Sea; for having made himself Master of his Adversary's Fleet, he Landed his Soldiers, and at one onset gave a total Overthrow to the *Barbarian* Army. Having enrich'd himself with the Booty of this Conquest, he return'd homewards. For now some Islands had Rebell'd, under the pretence of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power. Those whom he found Loyal to the establish'd Government, he confirm'd in their Principles; those who had traiterously Revolted from it, he compell'd to their Duty and Allegiance. He banish'd the *Delopes* from the City and Island of *Scyrus* (the present Inhabitants thereof) because their behaviour was stubborn and obstinate; and divided their Estates among the new adopted Denisons. At his arrival he defeated the *Thasii*, who trusted in the Fortress and San-

Sanctuary of their Riches. With the Spoils and Ornaments taken in these Wars the Southside of the Castle at *Athens* was beautified.

When this his prosperous Management of Affairs had Entitl'd him to the greatest Name and Reputation in the City, he had the Fate to be Envied, as his Father was, and other *Athenian* Worthies; for by the majority of Votes inscrib'd in Shells (which they call *Ostracism*) he was condemn'd to a ten Years Exile. For which unnatural usage the *Athenians* sooner express'd their Repentance, than *Cimon* his Sorrow. For when with a generous and undaunted Fortitude, he bore the envy of the ungrateful Citizens, and the *Lacedæmenians* had proclaim'd War against the *Athenians*, They immediately perceiv'd the want of so much Experienc'd Valour and Conduct: Therefore after five years Banishment he was Restor'd [*a*]. He (because he had been courteously entertain'd by the *Lacedæmonians*) esteeming it the interest of both Cities, that the Difference should be Compos'd, without the Decision of the Sword; voluntarily went Ambassador to *Lacedæmon*, and by his successful Negotiation reinstated the two great Rival Cities in Peace and Unity. Not long after he was Commission'd to go into *Cyprus* with

with 200 Ships; and when he had ſubdued the greater part of the Iſland, he was ſeiz'd with a malignant Diſtemper, and Died in the Town *Citium*.

For many years after the *Athenians* (both in times of War and Peace) were ſenſible of the loſs of their Patriot. For he was ſo free and generous a Gentleman, that he never ſubſtituted Bailiffs niggardly to hoard up the Fruits of his Farms and Gardens; leſt any Man, that deſir'd them, might be depriv'd of his Satisfaction and Enjoyments. His Footmen were always furniſh'd with ready Money, that he might be provided on all occaſions to relieve the Neceſſities of the Indigent, leſt the Delay of his Charity might be miſconſtrued a Denial. If he ſaw any Man that had the misfortune to be in a beggarly habit, he uſually beſtow'd on him his own Coat. He kept ſo conſtant a Table, and ſuch plenty of Proviſion, that he daily invited all thoſe to Dinner (who were not preengag'd) that he met in the public places of Aſſembly; and never refus'd to be any one's Surety, nor deny'd them his Aſſiſtance, or the uſe of his Goods. Several grew Rich on his Bounty and Benevolence. Many poor Wretches, who left not enough behind them to defray the charges of their Funeral Rites and Ceremonies, he decently

Interr'd

Interr'd at his own expence. Therefore 'tis no wonder, if by this his Carriage and Behaviour, his Life was free from Danger and Detraction, and his Death untimely and lamented.

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[a] *The* Nemeguen *Edition of* Corn. Nepos, *is in this place follow'd; all the other Impressions of this Author, having omitted a material sentence.*

THE

THE LIFE OF *LYSANDER.*

Done into *English* by Mr. *Kirchevall*, M.A. of *Corpus Christi* Coll. *Oxon.*

LYSANDER of *Lacedæmon* has gain'd the Happiness of a surviving Name, and is still Remembred and Renowned in the World; yet we cannot but impute the Greatness of his Character more to the indulgence of his Fortune, than to the merit of his Military Conduct. We confess indeed, that he gave the *Athenians* a total overthrow in the twenty sixth year of

of their War with the *Peloponeſians*; [a] but we cannot be ignorant how he obtain'd that Victory; for it is very well known, that this memorable Defeat was owing to the ungovernable and diſſolute behaviour of his Enemies, and to no Heroick Atchievements of a well Conducted Army. For when the *Athenians* ſhould have been ready to receive their Enemies Onſet, they exerted their Courage another way, in the open defiance of their Commander's Orders: they left their Ships to the mercy of the Winds and Waves, and careleſly wanton'd up and down the Fields, till at length, being thus ſubdued by their Vices, they became an eaſie prey to their Enemy's Forces, and ſubmitted themſelves tamely to the *Lacedæmonian* Yoke.

Lyſander was always of a bold and turbulent Nature, and of a ſeditious and haughty Spirit; but this fortunate Conqueſt elevated his Ambition to an higher pitch, and made him aſſume ſo much State and Authority, that by his proud and aſpiring projects, the *Lacedæmonians* were render'd extremely odious to *Greece*. For whereas they had given it out, That the only motive of their War was to take down the inſufferable height of the *Athenian* Dominion; He at the ſame time endeavour'd to eſtabliſh as troubleſome a So-

Soveraignty upon himſelf: for having made himſelf Maſter of the *Athenian* Fleet on the River *Ægos*, He made it the ſole Object of his care and aim, to bring every City under his own Juriſdiction and Vaſſallage; all the while pretending, that He did this purely for the ſake and Intereſt of the *Lacedæmonians*. They who had favour'd the *Athenian* Cauſe, were turn'd out of Office every where, and Ten others were choſen in every City to manage the Soveraign Sway; none being admitted into their number, but his familiar Acquaintance, or ſworn Creatures. And having thus ſet up his Decemvirate in every City, He was quickly Lord and Maſter of all, and his Will and Pleaſure became the chief Spring and Mover in every Affair and Action.

His Cruelty and Treachery (two ſocial Conſequents of his Ambition) come next to our view: we ſhall only give you a ſingle inſtance of them both, leaſt we ſhould tire the Reader's patience by reckoning up more of his baſe and barbarous Actions. At his return from his Conqueſt out of *Aſia*, He viſited *Thaſus* by the way, and would fain have demoliſhed that City, only for its extraordinary Fidelity towards the *Athenians*, vainly ſurmiſing, that the *Thaſians* would now prove their firmeſt Friends and Allies, tho before

before they had been their inceſſant and implacable Enemies. But he timely foreſaw, that the leaſt diſcovery of his bloody intention, would have neceſſarily puſh'd forward their Revolt and Revenge, and have made them ſtand upon their own Guards, in defence of their Lives and Fortunes.

Therefore that Decemviral Model [*b*] which his own Intereſt made him erect, the contrary party pull'd down; whereat being grievouſly vex'd and enrag'd, he contrived and plotted, how to extirpate the Royal Line of *Lacedæmon*. But he found he could never accompliſh this deſign, without the concurrent Authority of the Gods; for the *Lacedæmonians* had always recourſe to their Oracle, upon every unuſual occurrence of State, and would never admit of any Republican Innovations, without the antecedent Advice of their Gods. His firſt attempt therefore, was to ſuborn the Oracle of *Delphi*; but failing there, he ventur'd next upon that of *Dodona*; and meeting with a repulſe here, then he nois'd it abroad, That he was under an obligation of paying ſome Vows to *Jupiter Hammon*, thinking to temper with the *Africans* at an eaſier rate. Being buoy'd up with theſe alluring hopes, away he marches into *Africa*, but there alſo the event fell ſhort of his wiſh-

es,

es, and his expectations were mightily fruſtrated by *Jupiter*'s Prieſts. For to wheedle 'em into the acceptance of a bribe, was ſo far from being a feaſible thing, that it made 'em diſpatch away their Deputies to *Lacedæmon*, to accuſe *Lyſander* of Subornation. Being impeach'd of this miſdemeanor, he was acquitted by his Judges, and being afterwards ſent to relieve the *Orchomenians*, he was ſlain at *Haliartus*, by the hands of the *Thebans*. How true a judgment had been paſt upon him, we may make an eſtimate from the Speech which was found in his houſe after his Death; in which he preſſingly adviſes the *Lacedæmonians*, to null and abrogate the Regal Authority, and to ſingle him out for their General to carry on the VVar. Now this was penn'd with ſo much Art, that its whole frame and compoſure ſeem'd to ſute and humor the Oracular way of expreſſion and delivery; the procurement of which he never queſtion'd, relying upon the ſtrength of his Purſe. *Cleon of Hallicarnaſſus* is the reputed Author of this Copy.

And here we cannot omit the cunning contrivance of *Pharnabazus*, the *Perſian* King's Lord Lieutenant, and one of a Royal Extraction. For whereas *Lyſander* was conſcious to himſelf of ſeveral miſ-

carriages in that War, in which he had the honour of Admiral confer'd upon him, as having been over greedy of Money, and too thirſty after blood; and was afraid, that the Rumor of his Miſdemeanors was ſpread as far as his Native Soil; he made his addreſſes to *Pharnabazus*, requeſting the favour of a Teſtimonial of the greatneſs of his ſincerity in managing the War, and in treating the Allies; and becauſe the Authority of ſo great a Perſon would have a prevalent influence upon the *Ephori*, he importun'd him, that in his Letter to 'em, he would ſpare neither care nor pains to ſet off his integrity to the beſt advantage. *Pharnabazus*, after many large promiſes (to rid himſelf of further importunity) fill'd a great Book with many high Expreſſions in his Commendation; the peruſal of it giving full ſatisfaction and content to *Lyſander*. But afterwards, when he came to ſet his Seal to his hand, in that very nick, he ſlyly conveyed another, already ſign'd, into the place of the former; of a ſize ſo uniform, and ſo equal to it, that any one would have thought it really the ſame; tho indeed it was contradictorily different from the other, and contain'd a full impeachment of *Lyſander*'s Avarice and Perfidiouſneſs. Overjoy'd with the receipt of this, he ventures home, and makes an Harangue before

fore the chief Magiſtrate, in defence of himſelf; and having ſaid as much as he thought convenient upon his own performances, in the cloſe of all, he produced *Pharnabazus*'s Book, as a ſubſtantial Evidence of his words and actions. At the delivery of this, being order'd to withdraw, the *Ephori* emyloy'd the interval of his abſence in the peruſal of this Manuſcript, and after a full cognizance of its deſign and purport, they re-delivered it to him to read. So this inconſiderate man at the ſame time read his own Indictment, and proved it.

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[a] *Id quæ ratione conſecutus ſit, non latet.* [b] *Sibi ab illo conſtitutum ſuſtulerint.*

THE LIFE OF *ALCIBIADES.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Peers*, M. A. of *Chriſt-Church* Coll. *Oxon*, and Superior Beadle of *Phyſick* and *Arts*.

ALCIBIADES was the Son of *Clinias*, an *Athenian*. Nature ſeems, in the production of this Man, to have exerted the utmoſt Abilities of her skill and power; all Authors, who have written concerning him, agreeing in this, That ſuch a mixture of the moſt Eminent Virtues and Vices

Vices was never found in any other perſon, as in *Alcibiades*. The Greatneſs and Splendor both of his City and Parentage, Ennobl'd his Birth: And as for the Gifts of Nature and Perſonal Qualifications, he not only excell'd all his Cotemporaries in Beauty and Comelineſs of Body, but had likewiſe a Mind ſo richly and variouſly endow'd, that he apply'd himſelf to all matters (whether of Buſineſs or Pleaſure) with unparallel'd dexterity. Accordingly we find, that he acquitted himſelf as an Excellent Commander both by Sea and Land; and was likewiſe ſo thorowly accompliſh'd in the whole Art of Oratory, that he gain'd the precedence of all others, as well for a powerful Eloquence as a graceful Elocution. [*a*] Altho he was exceeding wealthy, yet could he, when the Exigence of affairs requir'd, endure the ſevereſt toil and hardſhip; no man living at other times with greater ſtate and affluence, either in what related to his Table, or in his uſual Attendance and Equipage. He was moreover extraordinary courteous and affable in his Converſation; and obſerv'd to be Maſter of an exquiſite Art of Diſſimulation and Compliance with all Perſons and Occaſions. Laſtly: As often as he had a Releaſe from publick Buſineſs, and ſome reſpite allow'd from labour and

intention of Mind, he gave himſelf entirely over to Luſt and Luxury, being Diſſolute and Intemperate to ſuch a degree, that thoſe who reflected upon the other Scenes of his Life, were ſtruck with Admiration at the wonderful diſſimilitude and inconſiſtencies of Nature in the ſame perſon, no man being found to differ more from *Alcibiades* than *Alcibiades* himſelf.

He had his Education in the houſe of *Pericles*, his Stepfather (for ſo he is recorded to have been); but for his Learning he was oblig'd to the Care and Inſtructions of *Socrates*. So that marrying moreover the Daughter of *Hipponicus* (the [*b*] wealthieſt Perſon thorowout all the *Grecian* Countries), if he had been to have made his own choice, he could not have pitch'd upon greater Advantages and Endowments, than had been freely conferr'd upon him by Nature and Fortune. In his greener years he was belov'd after the manner of the *Grecians*, and that by ſeveral; in the number of whom was his Maſter *Socrates*, as we are inform'd by *Plato*, in his [*c*] *Sympoſium*, where he introduces *Alcibiades* relating, *That he lay laſt night with* Socrates, *and roſe from him in the morning no other than a ſon ought to do from his own father.* When he came to maturity of Age, he as induſtriouſly,

ſtriouſly proſecuted the ſame kind of Love towards others, wherein he proceeded as far as the [d] Laws were thought to allow; doing many offenſive and diſtaſteful things, in the way of humor and [e] frolick, throughout the courſe of his amorous Intrigues; divers of which might be related by us, were we not provided of greater Matters, and more fit to be tranſmitted to Poſterity.

In the time of the *Peloponneſian* War, his Advice and Authority prevail'd with the *Athenians*, to break with the People of *Syracuſe*, and Rig out a Fleet againſt them. For which Expedition *Alcibiades* himſelf was alſo choſen ſupreme Commander; two Collegues being joyn'd in Commiſſion with him, *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. But before all Neceſſaries were provided, and the Navy in a condition to put to Sea, it happen'd one Night, that all the Statues of *Mercury* thorowout the City ([f] except that which ſtood before the door of *Andocides*, and had from him its uſual denomination) were overturn'd and thrown down from their Pedeſtals. Upon this unuſual accident, a ſtrange conſternation ſeiz'd the minds of the People; for they conſider'd, that the Sacrilegious Fact had a publick aſpect and tendency; and therefore that it muſt

have been committed by no small number of persons; which made them apprehensive of an Associated Force within the City, able of a sudden to oppress their Liberty, and enslave the Commonwealth.

No man was thought more capable of Heading such a Party than *Alcibiades*, he having already attain'd to a greater power and sway than usually was, or safely might be, in the hands of any [g] single person; so extraordinary was his influence and authority among the common people; many of whom he had won by his frequent Largesses, and many more by his Patronage and Assistance in Law-suits and [b] Prosecutions. By which Arts he was become so popular, that the Eyes of the Multitude were (With a disregard to the rest of the Nobility) continually fixt upon him whenever he appear'd in publick; so that for this Reason he came at length to be looked upon as the principal Object of the *Athenian* Hopes and Fears; all men esteeming him equally capable of promoting the Welfare and Ruin of his Country. Besides this, he lay under the scandal of holding Religious Conventicles in his House: which thing in it self was accounted a Crime of the highest Nature among the *Athenians*; it being moreover

ver the general Opinion, that ſuch [*i*] Meetings were not really intended for Devotion, but for carrying on of Plots and Conſpiracies againſt the State.

An Indictment was [*k*] therefore brought againſt him in open Court; but he conſidering, that the time of his departure upon the *Sicilian* Expedition drew near, and reflecting upon the uſual proceedings of his Country-men againſt abſent Criminals, made it his Requeſt to be preſently brought to a Trial, and not to be expos'd at a diſtance to the craft and malice of his Enemies. But theſe, on the contrary, perceiving that they ſhould not otherwiſe prevail againſt him, deſiſted from proſecuting till ſuch time as they concluded him arriv'd in *Sicily*; for then they renew'd the accuſation with ſo much vigour and artifice, that he was preſently recall'd by the Magiſtracy, being order'd to appear, and put in his Plea and Defence. Whereupon he readily obeying the publick Summons, and (altho he had the faireſt hopes of having the Adminiſtration of his Province Crown'd with Honour and Succeſs) going on board the Gally which was ſent to convey him to *Athens*, landed at the City of *Thurii* in *Italy*. But here, his Prudence prevailing over his Reſolution, he began to conſider the boundleſs

boundleſs Power which the *Athenian* Populace aſſum'd to themſelves, and the Cruelty with which upon ſuch occaſions they ever treated the Nobility; and therefore judging it more adviſable to withdraw from the impending ſtorm, he made his Eſcape from thoſe who had the cuſtody of him, and fled at firſt into the Country of *Elis*, and afterwards to the City of *Thebes*; tho it was not long ere he remov'd from thence to *Lacædemon*; word being brought, that Judgment of Death was paſs'd upon him, and that his Eſtate was Confiſcated to the Commonwealth; beſides (as was uſual in ſuch caſes) the Sentence of Excommunication denounc'd againſt him (the Prieſts [*l*] *Eumolpidæ* being thereunto compelled by the Multitude), and a Pillar erected in the moſt publick place, with an Inſcription Engraven thereon, to perpetuate the memory of this Religious Execration.

Arriv'd (as is aforeſaid) at *Lacedæmon*, he frequently proteſted, that he had no hoſtile intention againſt his Native Country; but only againſt ſuch men as were equally Enemies to it and Him; for being ſufficiently ſenſible how much his Service contributed to the proſperity of the State, they had nevertheleſs thruſt him into Exile; as evidently preferring their

their own private Revenge before the publick Welfare. However, it was not long ere by his advice the *Lacedæmonians* contracted an Alliance with the *Perſian* King, and ſtrongly fortified *Decelia* in *Attica*; by the Garriſon of which place the City of *Athens* was reduc'd into much the ſame condition as if it had been block'd up by a formal Siege; ſo that the Country of *Ionia* being alſo by his endeavours won over from the intereſt of the *Athenians*, the *Lacedæmonian* Arms began in all places to prevail and be victorious.

Yet did not theſe their Succeſſes ſo much encreaſe their Love, as awaken their Fears, and alienate their Affections from him; for conſidering him to be a perſon of the acuteſt parts, and moſt experienced prudence in all manner of Affairs, and fearing withal, leſt prevail'd upon by the dictates of an inbred tenderneſs for his Native Soil, he ſhould one time or other deſert their Service, and purchaſe a Reconciliation with his offended Country; they judg'd it expedient, ere this ſhould happen, to have him privately aſſaſſinated. This deſign could not long be conceal'd from *Alcibiades*, he being a perſon of ſo wonderful a ſagacity, that it was impoſſible for any thing to eſcape his knowledg; eſpecially when

when the leaſt ſurmiſe or ſuſpition had rais'd his jealouſie, and quicken'd his obſervation. Withdrawing therefore privately from *Lacedæmon*, he fled to *Tiſſaphernes* (one of King *Darius*'s Lieutenants), with whom altho he was ere long admitted into the ſtricteſt Bonds of Friendſhip, yet being much troubled at the riſing Greatneſs of the *Lacedæmonians*, and the languiſhing Condition into which the *Athenian* Affairs were fall'n by their Loſſes in *Sicily*; he contriv'd, by ſpecial Meſſengers, to treat with his Fellow-Citizen *Piſander* (Prætor, or Commander in Chief over the Army at *Samos*) concerning his Pardon and Re-admiſſion into his Country; *Piſander*'s concurring with him in an averſion for the Commonalty, and an equal favour for the Nobleſt, encouraging him thereunto. And altho he quickly found himſelf diſappointed in his Expectations from this man, yet was he ſome time after received by *Thraſybulus*, the Son of *Lycus*, into the *Athenian* Army, which lay at *Samos*, and made a principal Officer in the ſame; nor was it long ere, aſſiſted by the influencing ſuffrage of *Theramenes*, he obtain'd a publick Act of Reſtitution and Indemnity, and was joyn'd in equal Commiſſion with him, and the forefaid *Thraſybulus*.

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Under the Command and Conduct of these three Generals, the face of Affairs in a little time appear'd wonderfully alter'd; nay, it was not long ere the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Arms had hitherto been every where triumphant, found themselves oblig'd to become humble Supplicants for Peace; and that not without good Reason, having been beaten in five Land-Fights, and two Engagements at Sea; in which Engagements their Enemies are recorded to have taken no fewer than two hundred of their Trireme-Gallies. Add to these Successes of the *Athenians*, the Recovery of *Ionia* and the *Hellespont*, with many *Grecian* Towns seated upon the Coast of *Asia*. In the number of those Cities that were forceably subdu'd, was *Byzantium*, there being divers others which were won over to an Alliance, by the politick Clemency with which all places were treated by them, as they happen'd to be successively Conquer'd.

After these great Atchievements, the three Generals return'd to *Athens*, bringing back an Enrich'd and Victorious Army; the same being equally Laden with Spoil and Glory. But as soon as they were enter'd into the Harbour of the [*m*] *Piræum*, the City being in a manner deserted by its Inhabitants, so great was

was the confluence about *Alcibiades's* Gally, that the Sight and Reception of him alone, ſeem'd to have drawn forth the gazing and tranſported Multitude, who at this time firmly believed, that the preſent happy, and late calamitous Condition of their Affairs, were both entirely owing to him; yet blaming themſelves for the loſs of *Sicily*, and the victorious Exploits of the *Lacedæmonians*, ſince the ſame were wholly to be imputed to the Expulſion of ſo brave a Man out of their Commonwealth. Nor indeed was this an ill-grounded Opinion, ſeeing that from the very time of his Readmiſſion into Command, their Enemies could never prove an Equal Match for them either by Sea or Land.

No ſooner was he come on ſhore, but (without the leaſt notice taken of *Theramenes* and *Thraſibulus*, who landed at the ſame time, and had a joint intereſt with him in the late Atchievments) the whole Body of the People crowded up towards *Alcibiades*, many of them preſenting him, according to their different abilities, with Coronets of Gold, or Braſs; an Honour never done before, but to ſuch as were Victors in the *Olympic* Games. Calling to mind his fore-paſt Sufferings, he could not abſtain from Tears as he receiv'd theſe kind Teſtimonies

monies of Reconciliation from his Fellow-Citizens: and as ſoon as he came into the City, a ſolemn Aſſembly being held, he made ſo paſſionate a ſpeech to them, that he forc'd the natural Expreſſions of Sorrow, in equal abundance, from the Eyes of all that heard him; thoſe even of the moſt unrelenting temper among them, lamenting his hard uſage, and declaring themſelves utter Enemies to ſuch as had procur'd his Baniſhment: So that any man who had been a ſtranger to their Affairs, would certainly have concluded, that ſome other People, and not the very ſame Perſons by whom he was now ſurrounded, had paſs'd the former ſevere Sentence, and condemn'd him of Sacriledg. Hereupon his Eſtate, which had been Confiſcated, was Reſtor'd to him by publick Edict; the Prieſts *Eumolpidæ* being alſo commanded to take off his Excommunication, and the Pillars on which the ſame had been Engraven, to be thrown into the Sea.

Theſe obliging Smiles of kindeſt Fortune were of no conſiderable duration to *Alcibiades*; for when the higheſt Honours had by ſolemn Decree been conferr'd upon him, the Conduct and Management of all Affairs, both Civil and Military, being put into his hands, and

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Thraſybulus and *Adimantus* at his Requeſt aſſign'd him for Colleagues, paſſing over with a Fleet into *Aſia*, and Fighting unſucceſsfully at [n] *Cuma*, he fell again into the Diſpleaſure of the Populace. The Reaſon hereof was, that they univerſally believ'd him able to accompliſh whatſoever he took in hand; ſo that every ill Succeſs was imputed to his Negligence or Treachery; to the latter of which they attributed the unproſperous Attempt made upon *Cuma*, none of them doubting, but that he could have taken the place, had he not been corrupted to the betraying of his Truſt by the *Perſian* King. Indeed the principal Cauſe of the ſeveral Calamities that befel him, ſeems to have been the Extravagant Opinion that all men had conceiv'd of his Valour and Prudence; from whence ſprung the two different Paſſions of Love and Fear; and from whence at length it came to be generally dreaded, leſt puffd up with his great Succeſſes, and ſupported by as great Riches, he ſhould graſp at the Soveraignty, and endeavour the Enſlaving of their Free State.

Theſe were the Conſiderations that induc'd them to paſs a Vote for depriving him, tho abſent, of his high Office, and ſubſtituting another in his place; the News

News whereof being brought to *Alcibades*, he judg'd it not expedient to return home; and therefore passing [o] over to *Perinthus*, he compleatly fortified the three strong Holds of *Bornos*, *Bisanthe*, and *Macronteichos*; and from thence marching with a sufficient Body of Men, he seems to have been the first *Grecian* that made an Inrode into the Countries of *Thrace*: and this he did, as being unwilling to infest any part of *Greece*; and judging it more honourable, to enrich himself with the Spoils of [p] *Barbarians*; by which means he not only made great acquisitions in Wealth and Reputation, but obtain'd of certain *Thracian* [q] Kings, to be admitted into their Friendship and Alliance.

But by no kind of Fortune could *Alcibiades*'s Soul be divested of a tender Affection for his Native Country; and this he sufficiently manifested about this time, by the Advice given to *Philocles*, Commander in Chief over the *Athenian* Fleet in the River *Ægos*: *Lysander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, lying at no great distance from him, and desiring by all means to prolong the War, because he knew that the *Athenians* had nothing left besides their Weapons and Gallies (their publick Exchequer being quite exhausted), and that the Forces of his own

Country at the ſame time were ſupported and mantain'd by a conſtant ſupply of Money from the *Perſian* King. Neither were theſe thing conceal'd from *Alcibiades*, who therefore coming to the *Athenian* Army, ſpoke publickly in the hearing of the common Soldiers, to this Effect, *That if they pleas'd to accept of his Service, he made no doubt of forcing* Lyſander, *with his whole Fleet, to come to the deciſion of a Battel, or elſe to make ſubmiſſive Overtures of Peace. That the* Lacedæmonians *were indeed unwilling to run the hazard of a Sea-Fight, becauſe their main ſtrength and confidence lay in their Land-Forces; but that he could eaſily prevail with* Seuthes, *the* Thracian *King, to drive them from Land, and that then they would be neceſſitated, either to come to fair terms of Accommodation with the* Athenians, *or venture all upon the doubtful iſſue of an Engagement at Sea.*

This Advice, as it was not really diſliked, ſo neither was it embrac'd by *Philocles*, who well knew, that if *Alcibiades* were admitted to a Conjunction with him, he himſelf ſhould be but an empty Cipher in the whole Action; and let the Event prove proſperous or otherwiſe, that on the one hand, he ſhould have no ſhare in the Glory; and on the other, no Partner in the Diſcredit and Ignominy

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ny of ſuch an Undertaking. *Alcibiades* therefore, finding that his Counſel was not accepted, told *Philocles* at his departure, that he would only leave this ſhort Caution with him, To lye as near the Enemy as might conveniently be with his Naval Camp; and to take care, leſt by the licentiouſneſs and looſe Diſcipline of his Soldiers, the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould have an Opportunity put into their hands of ſurprizing his Fleet, and ruining the whole Army. Nor did the Event prove this a groundleſs apprehenſion; for ſhortly after, *Lyſander* being inform'd by his Scouts, that the main of the *Athenian* Forces were gone aſhore, and were eagerly employ'd in haraſſing and plundering the Country (their Ships in the mean time being left almoſt empty and defenceleſs), by one briſk and ſudden Attaque, gave their Navy a [r] total Overthrow, and put an unexpected period to the War.

After this fatal blow receiv'd by the *Athenians*, *Alcibiades* judging it unſafe for him to make any longer ſtay in thoſe parts, withdrew into the more inward Regions of *Thrace*, lying above the *Propontis*, not doubting but in ſuch a place his Fortune and Quality might eaſily be kept undiſcover'd. But it was not long ere he found that he was miſtaken; for

a Body of *Thracians*, who had information of his great Wealth, placing themſelves in Ambuſcade, ſurpriz'd and plunder'd all his Carriages, wherefore, having himſelf narrowly eſcap'd out of their hands, and conſidering, that (by reaſon of the great Power and Authority of the *Lacedæmonians*) no part of *Greece* could afford him a ſafe Retreat, he fled into *Aſia* to *Pharnabazus*, who was preſently ſo taken with his courteous Deportment and obliging Addreſs, that the firſt place in this great Man's Favour ſeem'd to be given to *Alcibiades*; who ſhortly after receiv'd from him, as a ſpecial teſtimony of Affection, the Fortreſs of *Grunium* in *Phrygia*; the Caſtellany whereof yeilded him no leſs than fifty Talents yearly Income.

But this plentiful Fortune brought no real contentment to *Alcibiades*; of which his mind was abſolutely uncapable, ſo long as the *Athenian* continued in ſubjection to the *Lacedæmonian* State. The whole bent of his Soul was therefore towards the delivering of his Country from that Inglorious Yoke and Bondage. But this he foreſaw could not be effected without the aſſiſtance of the *Perſian* King, whoſe Amity was therefore to be procur'd in the firſt place; and of that he aſſur'd himſelf, if he might but obtain

tain free acceſs to his Perſon. For having ſecret Notice of the [ſ] War intended againſt the King by his Brother *Cyrus*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*, he queſtion'd not, but by diſcovering this Confederacy, he ſhould purchaſe to himſelf the higheſt degree of Favour and Affection.

While *Alcibiades* was contriving how to put this deſign in Execution (having already requeſted of *Pharnabazus*, that he might be admitted into the preſence of the King), *Critias*, and the reſt of the *Athenian* [t] Tyrants, diſpatch'd certain Meſſengers into *Aſia*, by whom they gave *Lyſander* to underſtand, that the Articles agreed upon between him and the *Athenians*, muſt be Ratified by being Seal'd with the blood of *Alcibiades*; and that the Death of that Man was to be purſu'd by him, as he tender'd the Eſtabliſhment and Perpetuity of his own Exploits and Conſtitutions. *Lyſander* was ſo far wrought upon by this poſitive [u] Meſſage, that he reſolv'd to deal effectually with *Pharnabazus*, and therefore ſent him expreſs word, That the Alliance between his King and the *Lacedæmonians*, ſhould be null and void, unleſs he took care that *Alcibiades*, either alive or dead, were deliver'd into their hands: wherefore the *Perſian* Governor (preferring

ring his Master's Interest before all the Laws of Humanity and Friendship), immediately employ'd *Susamithres* and *Bagoas* to surprize and murther him, as he lay in *Phrygia*, and was [x] providing for his Journey to the King These Assasins arriv'd accordingly with great speed and expedition at the place of his abode; and not daring openly to assault him, they set Fire on the House wherein he lay, as hoping to accomplish by Stratagem what their Courage despair'd of effecting. And yet had they like to have been disappointed in their Expectation; for *Alcibiades* being rous'd by the crackling of the Fire, and missing his Sword (which it seems had been privily convey'd away), he took the Dagger of his [y] Friend and Companion (a certain *Arcadian* that Lodg'd with him, and could never be induc'd to desert him in his lowest condition), and bidding him follow after, pass'd boldly thorow the Flames; the violence whereof was somewhat abated by the throwing in of such Clothes and Houshold-stuff as came next to hand. But before he could make his Escape, and get quite off, he was overtaken and slain by the [z] Darted Weapons of the distant Assasins; by whom his Head being carry'd away, as a welcome Present to *Pharnabazus*, an affectionate

ctionate [*a*] Female (the conſtant ſharer both of his good and bad Fortune) took the Body, and wrapping it in her own Veſtment, committed it to the Flames; the ſame Fire that had in vain been kindl'd for his Deſtruction when alive, being now converted to the kinder uſes of a Funeral Pile.

Thus dy'd *Alcibiades* about the Fortieth year of his Age; a Perſon of whom we find but a ſcurvy Character given by the generality of Writers; yet has he obtain'd the higheſt Commendation from three very grave and authentick Hiſtorians, *Thucydides*, his Co-temporary, *Theopompus*, a ſomewhat more modern Author, and *Timæus*: The two latter of which were perſons of the moſt cenſorious humor, and obſerv'd (by I know not what ſtrange Fate) to have concurr'd in the Praiſes of no other man but *Alcibiades*. For even by them are the ſame advantageous Particulars deliver'd concerning him, which are already related by us, and to which may moreover be added, from the ſame Writers, *That being born in* Athens, *a City for State and Grandeur Second to none, he outwent the Nobleſt of his Fellow-Citizens in Splendor and Magnificence of Life: And yet when driven from hence he arriv'd at* Thebes, *he ſo far comply'd with the Genius of that*

People (the *Bæotians* in general employing their time in acquiring a Robuſt Habit of Body, and not in improving the Faculties of the Mind), *that he excell'd them all, as well in ſtrength and firmneſs of Limbs, as in chearfully undergoing the moſt toilſom Labour. When he came among the* Lacedæmonians, *who account it the higheſt pitch of Vertue to endure ſuch kind of hardſhip, he ſo readily accommodated himſelf to their penurious way of Living, that in a little time he had not his Equal for Abſtinence and Parſimony, either in Garb or Diet. After this, dwelling among the* Thracians, *a People generally addicted to the Enjoyments of Love and Wine; even here had he alſo the Precedence allow'd him beyond Competition. And coming at length into* Perſia, *where Labour and Induſtry in Hunting, and Luxury, and Exceſs in Feeding are of greateſt Reputation, he acquitted himſelf to the admiration of all men. So that whereſoever he came, he got the general Love and Reſpect of the People; being preſently accounted the moſt Accompliſh'd Perſon for ſuch Qualifications as were in every Country of higheſt Eſtemation.* But enough of this Man: let us now proceed to give an account of others.

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[a] *This hangs a little odly together in the* Latin: *and yet we know, that a rich man, and a laborious, are generally obſerved to be two ſeveral perſons.* [b] *Divers Copies have it* Omnium Græca Lingua Eloquentiâ diſertiſſimum: *but this ſeems not very conſiſtent with the high Commendation given already to* Alcibiades *upon the ſcore of Eloquence: and therefore the other Lection* [omnium Græcorum ditiſſimum] *may be thought more genuine; eſpecially ſince it is collaterally ſupported by the Authority of* Plutarch, *who only mentions the extraordinary Riches, and high Quality of* Hipponicus. [c] *A Book ſo call'd, becauſe it contains Table-Diſcourſe and Entertainment.* [d] *The ancient* Grecian *Laws are obſerv'd to have been too favourable and indulgent to that unnatural kind of Love.* [e] *Some of them may be ſeen in* Plutarch; *particularly, his taking away half the Cup-board Plate of his Paramour* Anytus; *who reſented it ſo little, that he only ſaid, he was oblig'd to him for taking but half.* [f] *This circumſtance was perhaps taken notice of by our Author, becauſe (as* Plutarch *tells us)* Andocides *was thereupon not only ſuſpected of having had a prin-*

a principal hand in the Action, but committed to Gaol, and profecuted for the ſame, &c. *One of the Evidences being ask'd, how he diſcern'd the Faces of thoſe he accus'd; reply'd, by the Moon-light; and tho it was anſwered, that that could not be, becauſe it was then the dark of the Moon, yet had not this palpable detection of Malice and Perjury the leaſt influence upon the ſtupidly prejudic'd Multitude.* Plut. [g] Prinatus *cannot be here apply'd in the ſtrict and common acceptation of the word to* Alcibiades, *he being apparently no private perſon in that ſence, becauſe the* Athenians *had themſelves advanc'd him to an high ſtation among the principal Magiſtrates of their Commonwealth.* [h] *When a Catalogue of Criminals was brought into Court, he would uſually ſtrike out the Names of ſuch as he had a deſire ſhould not be proſecuted.* [i] *Is there any thing (ſays* Solomon) *of which it may be ſaid, See this is new? It hath been already of old time which was before us.* [k] *For breaking down the Statues of* Mercury, *tho* Plutarch *tells us, his Accuſation ran for having celebrated in a profane and ludicrous manner the Myſteries of* Ceres *and* Proſerpine. [l] *The Succeſſors of* Eumolpus, *the Son of the Poet* Muſius, *in that ſacred Office.* [m] *It lay at a conſiderable diſtance from the City, to which it was join'd by a ſtrong wall. See*

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the Life of Themiſtocles. [n] *Yet are we told by others, That the moſt fatal miſcarriage in this Expedition, happen'd upon the Coaſt of* Ionia; *where* Antiochus (*an hot-headed Vice-Admiral*) *in* Alcibiades's *abſence, and contrary to his expreſs command, engaging the* Lacedæmonian *Fleet, was ſoundly beaten by the ſame.* [o] *With certain Forces rais'd and maintain'd at his own charge.* Plut. [p] *This word has been a long while us'd to ſignifie ſavage, illiterate, and uncivilix'd; but was at firſt apply'd by the haughty* Grecians (*as a term of diſtinction*) *to all Nations whatſoever that ſpoke not their Language.* [q] *His incurſions and depredations being* (*as we are inform'd by* Plutarch) *made upon a ſort of free People, and ſuch as were ſubject to no King.* [r] Conon *eſcap'd only with eight Gallies out of about two hundred* (*if we believe* Plutarch), *tho our Author, in the Life of* Conon, *mentions it as a great unhappineſs to the* Athenians, *that he was abſent at the time of that Engagement. However this was, certain it is, that the* Athenians *were hereupon little leſs than abſolutely Conquer'd,* Lyſander *ſhortly after taking the City of* Athens *it ſelf, and putting the Government thereof into the hands of Thirty ſpecial Magiſtrates of his own choice and appointment.* [ſ] *Our Author does not term it a Rebellion or Conſpiracy, becauſe* Cyrus *was no Liege Subject*

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to Artaxerxes, *their Father* Darius *(as we are told by* Juſtin*), having by Will given the former the abſolute Soveraignty of thoſe Territories over which he had before preſided as his Lieutenant.* [*t*] *He means the thirty Magiſtrates ſet over the* Athenians *by* Lyſander, *and call'd by them Tyrants; a Name originally not only of innocent but moſt honourable ſignification, being us'd ſimply for a King, or ſupreme Governor, and apply'd by the* Grecian *Poets even to* Jupiter, *and the reſt of their kindeſt and beſt reſpected Gods; but by a Republican Abuſe of the word, brought to connote the greateſt cruelty and oppreſſion: tho the truth is, if a man would be acquainted with Tyrants and Tyranny in that ſence (in which indeed the words have long ago univerſally obtain'd). he may moſt probably find them where thirty or forty, or perhaps rather (as ſome Nations have ſadly experienc'd) three or four hundred Perſons are by what means ſoever) poſſeſs'd of the Soveraign Power.* [*u*] *This muſt be taken not for a menace, but a piece of advice from the Thirty to* Lyſander, *their Intereſt and his being embarqued in the ſame bottom; and they (as may be collected from* Plutarch*) beginning now to be apprehenſive of no ſmall danger from* Alcibiades, *whom they perceiv'd (tho in exile) to be in a fair way of recovering his former Eſteem and Authority with the common People.* [*x*] *Others*

thers ſay, That Pharnabazus *being inform'd of* Cyrus's *deſign by* Alcibiades (*who had in vain deſir'd by his means, to have admiſſion to* Artaxerxes, *and was therefore about giving notice of the ſame to another of the King's Lieutenants*), *reſolv'd to have him cut off, that ſo the merit of the diſcovery might be wholly his own.* [y] *Tho our Author terms him* hoſpes, *and* familiaris (*which laſt word may indeed be taken to ſignifie a menial ſervant*), *yet by what follows* (viz. qui nunquam diſcedere voluerat), *he ſhould ſeem before this time to have worn off thoſe inferior and diſtant Relations.* [z] *He was ſlain with Darts and Arrows, ſays* Plutarch. [a] Timandra, *ſuppos'd by many to be the Mother of* Lais, *the famous* Corinthian *Courtezan.* Plut.

THE

THE LIFE OF *THRASYBULUS.*

Done into *English* by Mr. *Gilman*, M. A. of *Magdalen* Coll. *Oxon.*

THRASYBULUS, the Son of *Lycus*, and by Birth an *Athenian*, was a Person whom I should not stick to place in the Front of all the *Grecian* Worthies, if his Fortune had been any way answerable to his Deserts. Without doubt he outshone them all in Fidelity, Resolution, Greatness of Soul, and an inviolable Affection for his Country. And altho many boast-

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ed themſelves born of more Ancient Families, yet none out-ſtripp'd him in any other Accompliſhment of a Great Man. Whoever Reſcues his Native Country from the Oppreſſion of One *Tyrant*, does ſo brave an Action, that many Men have attempted, but few have had the honour of atchieving; yet was it this Man's good Fortune, to free his, groaning under the intollerable Burthen of Thirty at once. His Valour was firſt fledg'd in the *Peloponneſian* War; where being in a Joint-Commiſſion, he did many great Exploits without *Alcibiades*, tho *Alcibiades* did nothing without him, all his Actions expreſſing an ardent deſire to promote the good of the Commonwealth. But in pitch'd Battels the Strength and number of Forces is as much to be rely'd on as the moſt Excellent Conduct; and the private Soldier juſtly claims a ſhare in the Glory of the Action with the Commander. Beſides, Fortune ſometimes lets them know, that Succeſs depends neither upon one nor the other, but is ſolely at her diſpoſal. Wherefore the moſt glorious of all actions *Thraſybulus* may juſtly claim to be properly his own: For when *Athens* was miſerably haraſs'd and torn by the *Arbitrary Proceedings* of thoſe Thirty Burgomaſters, ſet up (as it were a *Council of State*) by the *Lacedæmonians*; during whoſe uncontrolable

lable ſway, many of the Eminent Citizens were kill'd, ſome (preſerv'd by Fate from the danger of the War) were baniſh'd, and many others had their Eſtates confiſcated and divided amongſt the Uſurpers: He not only appear'd as Chief, but ſingly proclaim'd open War againſt them; and when he fled to *Phyle* (the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified Caſtle in *Attica*), his brave Deſign drew along with him ſcarce Thirty Patriots. So weak were the Foundations of the Deſign by which the Liberty of that Illuſtrious City was aſſerted. He was not deſpicable for his Perſon or Parts, but was contemn'd for his inconſiderable Party; which at laſt prov'd of great conſequence to him; as the accompliſhing his Deſign for the Relief of his Country, and the utter and final Ruin of its Enemies. For they, lull'd in their own ſecurity, neglected a ſpeedy and victorious proſecution, and conſequently gave him a longer time to make himſelf more conſiderable both for Men and Money. Whence is evinc'd the truth of that common Axiom, *In War no advantage is to be ſlipt:* and it is not without Reaſon ſaid, *The Mother of a Coward need never Fear.* Yet all this while *Thraſybulus*'s Supplies and Aſſiſtances bore no proportion to his Expectations. For even in thoſe days the moſt Gallant Perſonages were more laviſh of their VVords

than

than Actions, and more hotly disputed their Liberty with their Tongues than their Swords. From *Phyle* he march'd to *Pyræum*, and fortifies *Munichia*; which place his Enemies twice attempting to take by Storm, in two general Assaults, were as often beat back with considerable Damage, and at last forc'd to retire into *Athens*, with the loss of all their Arms and Baggage. *Thrasybulus* in the mean time manages his Affair with as great Wisdom as Courage, and commands that Quarter should be given to all those who would accept it, saying, it was but reasonable, *that Fellow-Citizens should spare one another*. Neither indeed was there any person hurt afterwards, but those who continued in a posture of Hostility. He suffer'd none to be stript of their Clothes, nor touch'd any part of the Plunder, only Arms (for which he had urgent occasion) and Victuals. In this second Conflict fell *Critias*, the Ring-leader of the Thirty, after he had fought valiantly. *Critias* being slain, *Pausanias*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, comes to the assistance of the *Athenians*, and at length concludes a Peace between both Parties on these terms: First, That no Citizen (except the Thirty Tyrants, and the Ten Prætors, who exactly Copied those Originals of Cruelty in their Actions) should suffer Banishment. Se-

condly, That no Person's Estate should be Sequestred. And Thirdly, That Democracy should be Re-establish'd, and the Soveraign Power remain in the hands of the People. One more remarkably great Action of his, we must by no means forget; When Peace was setled, and he bore a great sway in the City, he Enacted a Law, *That no man should be accus'd, or any way punish'd, for any thing that was past.* This was afterwards call'd *an Act of Oblivion.* But not satisfied with the bare Enacting of such a Law, he took a mighty care in the just and strict Execution of it, and check'd some of the Partakers of his misery in Banishment, who would have made havock of those men they had so lately receiv'd into Favour. For these great and illustrious Actions, *Thrasybulus* was honour'd by the People with a Coronet made of Olive branches, a mean Reward indeed, but attended with these Advantages, that it was in no manner extorted, but a voluntary and hearty Testimony of the People's Affection; and was therefore an Honour, free from the Detractions of Envy or Emulation. For as *Pittacus* (a Man justly Register'd in the Catalogue of the Seven Wise men of *Greece*) well observ'd to the *Mitylenæans*, when they would have given him many thousand Acres of Land for a Reward;

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Don't ye, says he, *give me so Noble a Present, that many will Envy, and more will Covet; I will only accept of an hundred Acres, which is sufficient to shew your Good Will, and my own Modesty. Great Favours are often snatcht away, whilst little ones, below Envy, are longer enjoy'd. Thrasybulus* therefore, highly pleas'd with this petty Crown, sought no other Satisfaction, but look'd upon himself to be as much Honour'd as any of his Co-temporaries. In process of time, going Admiral to *Cilicia*, and his Soldiers being very remiss when they were upon the Guard, he was by a Sally surpriz'd in his Tent, and slain by the *Barbarians*.

THE LIFE OF CONON.

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Jenefar*, of *Magdalen* Coll. *Oxon.*

CONON, an *Athenian*, became Great in the Eſteem of the Commonwealth at the *Peloponneſian* War; where his Conduct was ſignally Heroick. For he was Captain-General of the Land-Forces, and Admiral at Sea, and perform'd noble Atchievements; which made him the Darling of the People, who Conſtituted him Governor of all their Iſlands; in which Commiſſion

miſſion he took *Pharæ*, a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*. He was alſo Captain-General in the laſt *Peloponneſian* War, when the Flower of the *Athenian* Army was deſtroy'd by *Lyſander* at the River *Ægos*. But *Conon* was not in Perſon at that Battel; from whence may be concluded the Misfortune of that fatal Day. For he weigh'd every Military Action; and was even jealous in acquitting himſelf like a General. Which makes it highly probable, that his Perſonal Valour and Conduct might have diverted that Maſſacre of the *Athenians*.

Yet in this ſad diſtraction, when he heard the groans of his Country, he conſulted not his own Safety and Retirement, but the Relief of his diſconſolate Country-men. He haſtened therefore to *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant of *Ionia* and *Lydia*, who was Son in Law to the King; into whoſe Favour he inſinuated himſelf, tho not without great intrigue and hazard. For when the *Lacedæmonians* (*Athens* lying gaſping) had broke their League, which they had made with *Artaxerxes*, and had ſent *Ageſilaus* with an Army into *Aſia* (where he was often Careſs'd by *Tiſſaphernes*, who was formerly the Familiar of the King, but had revolted from all the Endearments of his Prince, and combin'd with the *Lacedæmonians*); *Phar-*

nabazus march'd againſt him as General, tho in reality *Conon* was Chief, and his VVarlike Judgment controll'd the whole Council. He ſtopt the carier of *Ageſilaus*, that ſo much Renown'd Captain, and confounded all his Stratagems; and 'twas the wiſe Conduct of *Conon* which prevented *Ageſilaus* from renting that part of *Aſia*, on this ſide *Taurus*, from the *Perſian* Empire. *Ageſilaus* being remanded home by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were embroiled in a VVar with the *Bœotians* and *Athenians*; *Conon* took that opportunity to ingratiate himſelf with the *Perſian* Nobility, and ſoon became their only Oracle.

At this time the Malecontent *Tiſſaphernes*. had quitted the Court, of which the King was only incredulous; ſo great a ſhare had *Tiſſaphernes* in the Royal Favour, tho in this very time of his diſloyal Villany. Neither is it ſtrange, that the King was unwilling to miſtruſt this his Creature, when he call'd to mind, that by his Proweſs he quell'd his Brother *Cyrus*. Therefore *Conon* was ſent by *Pharnabazus* to accuſe *Tiſſaphernes* before the King; who being arriv'd, according to the Cuſtom of the *Perſians*, he came to *Tithrauſtes*, a Tribune and principal Officer of State, requeſting that he might be introduc'd; without which Ceremony

ny none are admitted. To whom *Tithraustes* said, there should be no delay; but (said he) you must consult whether it were better to have an Audience, or to signifie your Business by Letter; for if you come into the Royal Presence, you must fall down before the King; which they call [a] *Divine Homage*: But if you cannot comply with this, trust me to intercede for you, and you shall certainly attain your desire. Then *Conon* reply'd, I could very chearfully pay any Honour to the King, but I fear lest it should be a dishonourable blemish to my Country, if I should prostitute my self to the Slavery of a *Barbarian*, who came from that People who by Nature are accustom'd to Govern. He therefore deliver'd his Business in a Letter; which being made known to the King, he was so taken with his Commanding Deportment, that he proclaim'd *Tissaphernes* a Traitor, Commission'd *Conon* to Fight the *Lacedæmonians*, and to elect whom he pleas'd to raise Money for the VVar. VVhich Choice *Conon* modestly deny'd to be in his Province, but in the King's, who best understood the Condition of his People; yet that it was his humble advice, that he would confer that Office on *Pharnabazus*. After this, being Honour'd with Great

Preſents, he was Commiſſion'd to Sea, that he might convey the Galleys to the *Cyprians*, *Phœnicians*, with the other Port-Towns; and that he ſhould Rig a Navy to ſecure the Seas the following Summer; in which Commiſſion *Pharnabazus* was his Collegue, as he had petition'd. So ſoon as the *Lacedæmonians* heard this, they acted with great Judiciouſneſs, becauſe they foreſaw a more dangerous VVar, than if they had been engag'd only againſt the petulent *Perſian*. For they were now to grapple with a bold and wary General, entruſted with the whole *Perſian* Power, againſt whom their Stratagems of VVar were as ridiculouſly vain as their Strength. VVith this Reſolution they contract a formidable Navy, and ſet Sail under *Piſander*, whom *Conon* aſſaulted at the River *Cnidus*, and after a deſperate Fight routed: Many Ships he took, and many he ſunk; by which Victory not only *Athens* but all *Greece* was freed from the Yoke of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Conon*, with part of the Navy, returned to his own Country; was very ſolicitous in re-building the VValls of *Athens*, with the Haven *Pyræum*, which were demoliſh'd by *Lyſander*, and gave his Fellow-Citizens Fifty Talents which

which he had received of *Pharnabazus*.

Yet it happen'd to this Great Man as to the Ignoble Peſantry, who was more improvident in the ſmoother than in the rugged part of his Life: for having vanquiſh'd the *Peloponneſian* Squadrons, and ſatisfied the revengeful thirſt of his Country, he aim'd at higher things than his Policy could poſſibly reach; all which Attempts were Pious and Honourable, in as much as he preferr'd the VVelfare of *Athens* before the King's. For when he had acquir'd a ſplendid Eminency by the Sea-Fight at *Cnidus*, he began ſlily to whiſper among the *Perſians*, and all the Cities of *Greece*, that *Ionia* and *Æolis* ſhould be ſurrendred to the *Athenians*. But this Deſign taking vent, *Teribazus*, Lieutenant of *Sardis*, inveighled *Conon* to come to him, pretending to ſend him to the King upon an Embaſſy of great importance. *Conon* obey'd the Meſſage, and as ſoon as he arriv'd, was ſecur'd in Fetters, which he bore for ſome time Others write, that he was brought to the King, and dy'd there. Yet *Dinon*, the Hiſtorian, in whom we moſt confide in *Perſian* Story, informs us, that he eſcap'd; and ſeems only to doubt, whether it were by the

the Design, or inadvertency of *Teribazus*.

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[a] *Græci vocant* προσκυνεῖν *venerabundè salutare.*

THE

THE LIFE OF *DION.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Clarke*, M. A. and Fellow of *All-Souls* Coll. *Oxon.*

DION of *Syracuſe*, Son to *Hipparinus*, deſcended from a Noble Family, and was of [*a*] Kin to both *Dionyſius's*, the Tyrants. For the Elder of them married his Siſter *Ariſtomache*; by whom he had two Sons, *Hipparinus* and *Nyſæus*, and as many Daughters, *Sophroſyne* and *Areta*. *Sophroſyne* he gave to his Son and Succeſſor *Dionyſius*, and *Areta* was allotted to be *Dion's*

on's VVife; who, beſides his Noble Relations, and the Reputation deriv'd to him from his Anceſtors, was oblig'd to Nature for many rare Endowments; among which, an [*b*] Aptneſs to Learn, a [*c*] Courteous Behaviour, and a Diſpoſition to brave Actions, were conſpicuous: Nor was he leſs happy in a comly and graceful Preſence. Beſides, his Father left him a vaſt Eſtate, which was encreas'd by the [*d*] Gifts of the Tyrant. He had a great intimacy with *Dionyſius* the Father, to which his Perſonal Merits were as inſtrumental as his Affinity; for tho he lik'd not *Dionyſius*'s Cruelty, yet he endeavour'd his Safety, upon account of their Alliance, but chiefly with reſpect to his own Relations. He was conſulted with in matters of the greateſt Concern; and the Tyrant was very much ſway'd by his Advice, unleſs in thoſe things where the prevalence of his own Affections over-rul'd. All Embaſſies of note were perform'd by him; in which his Civility, together with his faithful and diligent Adminiſtration of Affairs, took off from that imputation of Cruelty, which *Dionyſius* generally lay under. The *Carthaginians*, to whom he was ſent by the Tyrant, honour'd him highly, in ſo much that they never had any *Grecian* in more Admiration. Neither

ther was *Dionyſius* ignorant of theſe things, nor unſenſible how great an Ornament he was to him; from whence it came to paſs, that *Dion* was moſt in his Favour, and lov'd by him as a Son. So that when they heard in *Sicily*, that *Plato* was come to *Tarentum*, he not only gave the Young Man (who had a great deſire to be one of his Hearers) leave to invite him thither, but after the grant, brought him in great ſtate to *Syracuſe*. For him *Dion* had ſo great a love and veneration, that he wholly yeilded himſelf to his diſpoſal; which was anſwered by *Plato*, who took no leſs delight in him. For altho he was cruelly miſus'd by the Tyrant, who gave order he ſhould be ſold for a Slave, yet at *Dion*'s requeſt he returned thither again. In the mean time *Dionyſius* fell [e] ſick; and his Diſtemper encreaſing upon him, *Dion* went to the Phyſicians, to enquire *how* he *did*; *and withal entreated them to let him know, if* his *Life were in great danger, becauſe he intended to diſcourſe* him *about dividing the Kingdom, part of it, in his opinion, being due to thoſe Sons his Siſter had by him.* This Enquiry the Phyſicians did not conceal, but carried it to *Dionyſius* the Younger, who was ſo much concern'd, that to prevent any Conference between *Dion* and his Father, he forc'd the Phyſicians

ans to give the latter a ſleeping Potion; which the Old Man took, and ſlept his laſt.

Such was the beginning of the quarrel between *Dionyſius* and *Dion*; which many things afterwards fomented. However, for ſome time there remain'd an appearance of Friendſhip; ſo that *Dion* being urgent with him, to ſend for *Plato* from *Athens*, and make uſe of his Counſel, he comply'd with his deſire, that in ſomething he might be like his Father, and at the ſame time brought [*f*] *Philiſtus*, the Hiſtorian, back to *Syracuſe*, a man who was equally a Friend to the Tyrant, and his Tyranny. But of this I have ſaid more in my Book of the *Greek* Hiſtorians. As for *Plato*, his Eloquence and Authority ſo much influenc'd *Dionyſius*, that by his perſwaſion he was reſolved to reſtore the *Syracuſians* their Liberties, and put an end to the Tyranny; but being deterr'd by *Philiſtus* from executing his intention, he became more Cruel than before. Finding therefore, that *Dion* had the advantage of him in Parts, in Authority, and the Love of the People, he fear'd their ſtaying together might be an occaſion of his own Ruin; upon which he gave him a Gally to tranſport him to *Corinth*, telling him withal, that what he did was for both their ſakes, leſt

left, out of the mutual fear which was between them, one might be apt to supplant the other. This Action was highly resented by many, and drew great Envy upon the Tyrant, who to make the World believe, that he did it not out of hatred to the Man, but meerly for his own security, shipp'd off all his Moveables, and sent them to him. But [g] afterwards, when he heard that *Dion* was raising Forces in *Peloponnesus*, with design, if he were able, to fall upon him, he married his Wife *Areta* to [h] another, and order'd his [i] Sons Education in such a manner, that by giving him his swing, he might be tainted with all sorts of Vices. For while he was yet a Boy, they brought him Whores, and so plyd him with Wine and Feasts, that he never had leisure to be sober. Insomuch, that when his Father return'd, and set Governors over him, to reclaim him from his former way of living, not able to endure such a Change in his course of Life, he threw himself from the top of the House, and ended his days.

But to return: After *Dion* was come to *Corinth*, and *Heraclides*, General of the Horse, [k] driven away by the same *Dionysius*, fled thither also; they hasten'd their preparations for War, with all diligence,

gence, yet made but small progress; for few adventur'd to run the same risque they did, because a Tyranny of so many years continuance, was by every one esteem'd very formidable. But *Dion*, who more rely'd on the Ill Will that all people bore the Tyrant, than the strength of his own Forces, with only two Merchant-Ships, undauntedly went against a Government which had stood for Fifty Years, guarded with five hundred long Ships, ten thousand Horse, and an hundred thousand Foot; and to the astonishment of the World, so easily over-ran it, that within three days of his landing in *Sicily*, he entred [*l*] *Syracuse* it self. From whence it is evident, *That no Empire is safe which is not Guarded by Love.* At that time *Dionysius* was in *Italy*, waiting for his Fleet; and did not imagine, that any of his Enemies durst venture upon him without considerable Forces. In which he was mistaken: for *Dion*, with those very men which were under his Adversary's Dominion, abated the Tyrant's Arrogance, and made himself Master of all that part of *Sicily* which was in subjection to *Dionysius*, as he did of *Syracuse* likewise, except the Citadel, and Island adjoining to the Town. Whereupon the matter was brought to that pass, that the Tyrant was contented to make Peace on

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the following Articles: *That* Dion *ſhould have* Sicily, Dionyſius *poſſeſs* Italy, *and* Syracuſe *be in the hands of* Apollocrates, *a man in whom* Dionyſius *repos'd the greateſt truſt.* But this unexpected proſperity was attended with a ſudden change; Fortune by her fickleneſs attempting to ruin him, whom juſt before ſhe had exalted. The firſt token of her malice ſhe ſhew'd in his Son, whom I mention'd before: for having brought back his VViſe, who was given to another, and being deſirous to reſcue his Son from the Debauchery in which he had been bred, and reduce him to his former Sobriety, he receiv'd a grievous blow by the Death of his Child. The next misfortune, was the Diſſention between him and *Heraclides*; who made a Faction, rather than he would yield the priority to *Dion*, and had as much intereſt among the Nobility as he: for by their conſent he commanded the Naval Forces at the ſame time when the other did thoſe at Land. This *Dion* could not brook; and repeated thoſe Verſes in the ſecond Illiad of *Homer*, to this purpoſe, *That a State cannot be well order'd where the Government is in the hande of many.* The Saying rais'd him much Envy; for by it he ſeemed to diſcover an intention of getting all into his own power; which Opinion he endeavour'd not to leſſen by com-

 plaiſance,

plaiſance, but ſuppreſs by rigor; and caus'd *Heraclides*, when he came to *Syracuſe*, to be kill'd. An Action which ſtruck every body with fear, no man thinking himſelf ſafe now *Heraclides* was thus taken out of the way. But *Dion*, being rid of his Adverſary, with more licenſe diſtributed the Eſtates of the contrary Party among his Soldiers. After which diviſion, by reaſon of the greatneſs of his daily Expence, he quickly began to want Money; which he knew no way to be ſupply'd with, but by ſeizing his Friends Poſſeſſions; upon which it happen'd, that the gaining the Soldier prov'd the loſs of the Nobility. Theſe things he took very much to heart; and being unaccuſtom'd to be ill ſpoken of, could not endure thoſe men ſhould diſ-eſteem him who a little before had prais'd him to the Skies. For the Rabble perceiving the Soldiers were offended with him, talked with greater Freedom, and often called him an intollerable Tyrant. As *Dion* was in this perplexity, not able to appeaſe their Commotions, and afraid of the Conſequence, [*m*] *Callicrates*, an *Athenian*, one that accompanied him from *Peloponneſus* to *Sicily*, a cunning fraudulent Fellow, without any ſenſe of Religion or Honeſty, came to him, and told him the danger he was in, by reaſon of the diſguſt of the Peo-

People, and hatred of the Soldiers; which, without employing one of his Friends to feign himſelf his Enemy, 'twas impoſſible to avoid; but if he found one fit for this Affair, he might eaſily know their Deſigns, and ruin his Adverſaries, who would certainly declare their intentions to one that ſeem'd at variance with him. The Advice being approv'd, *Callicrates* took upon himſelf to put it in execution; and being encouraged by *Dion*'s unwarineſs, ſought for Aſſociates to kill him, had Meetings with his Enemies, and confirm'd the Conſpiracy. But many being privy to the buſineſs, it was divulg'd, and brought to *Ariſtomache*, *Dion*'s Sifter, and *Areta* his Wife; who in a fright ran with the News to him, for whoſe ſafety they were ſo much concern'd. He aſſur'd them, that *Callicrates* meant him no harm; and what he did was by his order. However, the Women not ſatisfied with this, got *Callicrates* to *Proſerpine*'s Temple, and forc'd him to [n] ſware, that *Dion* ſhould receive no miſchief from him. Which Religious Act was ſo far from making him quit his deſign, that 'twas a means to haſten the Execution, he fearing the Plot might be diſcover'd before it had taken Effect. Being thus reſolv'd, the next [o] Feſtival-Day, when *Dion* was laid down pri-

vately at home in an upper Chamber, he put the ſtrongeſt places of the City into the hands of the Conſpirators; and having ſurrounded the Houſe with Soldiers, commanded ſome of them not to ſtir from the Doors. And that he might not be deſtitute of means to eſcape, if Fortune ſhould prove croſs to his Deſigns, he furniſh'd a Galley with Men and Arms, and order'd his Brother *Philocrates*, who commanded it, to keep it moving in the Port, as if he only intended the Exerciſe of the Rowers. Beſides, he choſe ſome *Zacynthians* of his own Train, ſtrong daring Fellows, and bid them go to *Dion* unarm'd, that ſo it might ſeem they came only to pay him a Viſit. Their acquaintance in the Family immediately gave them admittance into his Chamber; where, as ſoon as they were enter'd, they faſten'd the Doors, fell upon him in his Bed, and bound him; which was not done ſo ſilently, but the noiſe was heard without. Hence it is evident, as I have often ſaid before, how odious a thing the Government of a ſingle Perſon is, and how miſerable a Life they lead, who had rather be the Object of their Subjects Fear than Love. For his very Guards, had they bore him any kindneſs, might have broke open the Doors, and ſaved his Life; the Conſpirators being forc'd

for

for want of Arms, to keep him alive till they could procure a Weapon of those who were out of the Chamber. But no body coming to his Rescue, one *Lyco*, a *Syracusian*, reach'd them a Sword through the Window, with which they dispatch'd him. The Multitude after his Death came to look upon him, and not knowing the Murderers, kill'd several whom they suspected of the Fact. For it being noised that *Dion* was slain, many who disliked the Action ran thither, and upon a false surmise kill'd the Innocent instead of the Guilty. As soon as his Death was publickly known, 'twas strange to see how the People's Minds were chang'd: for they who in his Life-time afforded him no better a Name than Tyrant, now call'd him the Expeller of the Tyrant, and Deliverer of his Country; and so suddenly was Hatred succeeded by Compassion, that if it had been possible, they would have redeem'd his Life at the expence of their own. Wherefore by publick Order he was buried in the most Honourable place of the City, and by the same had a Tomb Erected. He died in the five and fiftieth year of his Age, and the fourth after his return from *Peloponnesus* into *Sicily*.

[a] Facit: in usum Delphini. [b] Plato *says the same in his 7th Epistle.* [c] *Contradicted by* Plutarch *in his Life, and* Plato *in his 4th Epistle, at the end.* [d] *The Treasurers had Orders to give him whatever he desired.* Plut. [e] *He surfeited at a Feast which He made for joy he was declared Victor in Poetry.* Diod. Sicul. *lib.* 15. [f] Plato *calls him* Philistides, *Epist.* 3. [g] Plutarch *says, That the Marriage of* Areta *to* Timocrates, *was before* Dion's *Preparations for War.* [h] Timocrates. [i] Hipparinus, *or* Hipparion, *or as* Timaus *says,* Aretæus. [k] *Being suspected to be the Cause that the Veterans mutiny'd when* Dionysius *was about to lessen their Pay.* Plato *Epist.* 7. [l] Syracuse *was taken the 48th Year of the Tyranny.* Plut. *Olymp.* 106. *an.* 1. Diod. Sicul. [m] Calippus. Plut. [n] Plutarch *tells us the manner of his taking this Oath: After some Holy Rites, he had the Goddesses Purple Robe thrown about him, with a burning Torch put in his hand, and so forsware what he was accus'd of. It was call'd* ὅρκος μέγας, *or the* Great Oath; *of which there were several sorts.* [o] κουρεῖοις ἑορτὴ, *sacred to* Proserpine: *for on that*

that day they ſhaved their Childrens Heads (and ſacrificed to Her), one of the Ceremonies us'd at the Enrollment of their Children in their Tribes; which was done at this time. Suid. *and* Plut.

THE LIFE OF *IPHICRATES.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Allam*, M. A. of *St. Edmund*-Hall, *Oxon.*

IPHICRATES, the *Athenian*, became famous to Poſterity, rather by his accurate skill in the Art of War, than the Gallantry of any Noble Atchievements. For he was ſo perfectly furniſh'd with all the neceſſary Accompliſhments requiſite to complete a General, that he not only attain'd the Excellencies of his moſt Eminent Co-temporaries,

poraries, but might juſtly diſpute Pre-eminence with the Chief of former Ages. He was ſo very well experienc'd in Martial Affairs, that being often entruſted with the Command of entire Armies, he never was defeated by any failure or default of his own; and what Victory ſoever he obtain'd, it appear'd principally to be owing to his Prudence and Conduct. So great was his Judgment in all things relating to War, that he both advanc'd the Military Diſcipline by additional Rules to a far greater perfection than it ever had before his time, and improv'd thoſe few ſcatter'd ones he met with to the beſt advantage. He alſo made moſt commodious and beneficial alterations in the Arms of the Infantry; for whereas before his time broad unweildy Shields, ſhort Spears, and little Swords were only in uſe, he chang'd the firſt of them into a lighter Target, made ſomewhat in ſhape of an Half-Moon, call'd *Pelta*, from whence the foot afterwards receiv'd the name of *Peltaſtæ*; and by this more portable Buckler, he did not only expedite their Marches, but made them capable of receiving their Enemy's Onſets with greater readineſs and activity. As for the Sword, he augmented its length, but doubled that of the Spear, changing moreover their Breaſt-Armour from Iron

and

and Braſs, to thoſe made of Linnen, which render'd his Soldiers fitter for action; and by thus leſſening their weight, he at once provided for their eaſe and ſecurity too. He was engag'd in a War with the *Thracians*, and reſtor'd *Seuthes*, an Ally of the *Athenians*, to his Kingdom. At *Corinth* he kept the Army to ſo ſtrict Diſcipline, that there were in no part of *Greece* to be found better Train'd Forces; or any who with ſo great readineſs received and performed the Commands of a General, even in the moſt minute particulars; for by his pains and induſtry they grew ſo expert in all Military Orders and Poſtures, that as ſoon as ever he had but once given the Word of Command, they would immediately form themſelves into as regular a Figure, as if the moſt skilful Commander had rank'd each private Soldier in his proper place. With this Army he intercepted a ſelect Party of the *Lacedæmonian* Horſe; which Action was very much extoll'd throughout all *Greece*. In the ſame War he gave their whole Strength a ſecond total defeat; which alſo procur'd him a large ſtock of Honour. *Artaxerxes* purpoſing to fight the King of *Egypt*, made it his requeſt to the *Athenians*, that they would grant him *Iphicrates*, whom he deſign'd as Commander in Chief over his Mercinary Forces,

ces, the ſame amounting to the number of twelve thouſand men; and having obtain'd his deſire, he inſtructed them ſo fully and exactly in the whole Art of War, that as formerly the beſt *Roman* Soldiers were diſtinguiſh'd from the meaner ſort by bearing the name of their Leader *Fabius*; ſo the *Grecians* had thoſe under the Command of *Iphicrates* in the higheſt eſteem. When he went to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*, he ſoon put a ſtop to the Attempts of *Epaminondas*: for had he not haſten'd his March, the *Thebans* would not have rais'd the Siege of *Sparta*, till they had taken, and laid it utterly waſte in Aſhes and ruin. The greatneſs of his Spirit bore an equal proportion with that of his Body; his Preſence being very Majeſtick and Commanding, did ſo clearly beſpeak him what really he was, that his bare look of it ſelf was ſufficient to ſtrike all Beholders with an Admiration of his Perſon. *Theopompus* has recorded, that he was remiſs in matters which requir'd continu'd Labour, and that he could not well brook the hardſhips of War; yet he had ſtill the character of a good Citizen given him, and was always reputed a Man of a ſteddy and untainted Fidelity; of which, as on ſeveral other occaſions, he gave moſt undeniable proofs, ſo he did in a more peculiar

culiar manner ſignalize it by protecting the diſtreſſed Children of *Amyntas*, the *Macedonian*. For *Euridice*, the Mother of *Perdiccas* and *Philip*, upon her Huſband's death, preſently fled with her two Fatherleſs Sons to *Iphicrates* for ſuccour and patronage; who being rich, generouſly aſſerted their juſt Rights againſt all kinds of wrong and oppreſſion. He died Old, in the Love and Favour of his Fellow-Citizens, tho their Affections had been for ſome time alienated from him: for he, and *Timotheus*, were forc'd to make their publick Defences in the Aſſociated VVar; and he was acquitted by thoſe who were conſtituted his Judges. He left behind him a Son call'd *Meneſtheus*, whom he had by a *Thracian* VVoman, Daughter to King *Cotus*; who being aſked, *which he lov'd beſt, his Father or Mother?* reply'd, *his Mother*. And when all the Company wonder'd at the ſeeming ſtrangeneſs of the Anſwer, he told them, *That he did not return that Anſwer, but upon very good Reaſons; For my Father*, ſaith he, *by Marrying a* Barbarian, *us'd his utmoſt endeavour that I ſhould be one alſo; but my Mother did as much as in her lay, to make me the Son of an* Athenian.

THE

THE LIFE OF *CHABRIAS.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Kennet*, of St. *Edmund*-Hall, *Oxon.*

CHABRIAS was an *Athenian*, one that bore a Name in the Catalogue of their Greateſt Commanders, and perform'd ſeveral Exploits that very well deſerve the Recording. Among which, there ought more eſpecially to be remarqu'd, that Stratagem which he made uſe of at *Thebes*, when he came to aſſiſt the *Bœotians:* For in that Engagement *Ageſilaus*, the

the *Lacedæmonian* General, being very confident of obtaining the Victory, and having made so great a step toward it, as the putting to flight all the Mercenary Forces of the Adverse Party, *Chabrias* procur'd the other Troops to keep their station, while by his own Example of kneeling down upon his Buckler, and holding out his Spear or Pike aslaunt, he taught them in that manner to expect the Onset of the Enemy. *Agesilaus* being surpriz'd at so unwonted a sight, durst make no farther attempt upon them, but immediately sounded a Retreat, and thereby summon'd his Soldiers to fall back, when they were just ready to have made the assault. This contrivance was so much applauded throughout all *Greece*, that *Chabrias* order'd himself to be drawn in that defensive posture in the Statue which was Erected for him in the *Forum* at *Athens* at the publick charge of that City. And from hence it commenc'd a custom, that ever after all Gladiators, and other Fencers, were wont to have their Statues carv'd to the same posture wherein they had got their respective Victories. But to return, *Chabrias* wag'd several Wars in *Europe*, while he was commission'd a General of the *Athenians*, and behav'd himself bravely in *Egypt*, when he serv'd as a private Voluntier. Going

to

to the help of *Nectanebus*, he got him ſetled in his Kingdom. He came off with as good ſucceſs at *Cyprus*; tho there indeed he was publickly appointed by the *Athenians* as a Collegue with *Evagoras*; nor did he diſpatch from hence till he had ſubdued the whole Iſland, and from the happy management of this Enterprize, the *Athenians* purchas'd themſelves very much credit. In the mean while aroſe a VVar between the *Perſians* and *Egyptians*; the *Athenians* enter'd into League with *Artaxerxes*, King of *Perſia*, and the *Lacedæmonians* ſided with the *Egyptians*; of whom *Ageſilaus*, King of *Lacedæmon*, made a very conſiderable advantage. *Chabrias* taking Notice of this, and thinking himſelf no way inferior to *Ageſilaus*, frankly offer'd his Service to the aſſiſtance of the *Egyptians*; and was made Admiral of their Fleet, *Ageſilaus* being Commander of their Infantry. Upon this, the Captains who were employ'd by the King of *Perſia*, diſpatch'd Meſſengers to *Athens*, to complain that *Chabrias* took part with the *Egyptians* in a VVar againſt their Maſter. The *Athenians* hereupon fix'd a day, by which time, if *Chabrias* return'd not, they threatned he ſhould forfeit his Life, for diſobeying the Summons. *Chabrias* at this News comes back to *Athens*; yet ſtay'd

ſtay'd there no longer than was juſt neceſſary to avoid the penalty which was otherwiſe denounc'd againſt him. For he was not fond of reſiding among his own Country-men, having liv'd ſo ſplendidly, and far'd ſo high, that he could not but raiſe the Envy of the Rabble. For this indeed is a common fault in Great and Free Cities, That Envy is always faſten'd upon Glory; and moſt Perſons are extreme forward in detracting from thoſe who are promoted to be their Superiors. And, what is ordinary to obſerve, the Poor cannot without regret at their own harder fate, caſt an eye upon the more ample Fortunes of the Rich. *Chabrias* upon theſe Conſiderations was as much abroad as his Affairs could diſpence with. And herein he was not ſingular in his caution of ſtaying little at home in *Athens*; for almoſt all their Eminent Men took the ſame courſe, thinking themſelves ſo far remov'd from Envy, as they were diſtant from their own Native Country. *Conon* for this Reaſon, lived the moſt part in *Cyprus*, *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*, *Timotheus* in *Lesbus*, and *Chares* in *Sigæum*. This *Chares*, it is true, was different from the reſt both in Temper and Action; yet he was a Perſon of great Honour and Wealth at *Athens*. But finally, *Chabrias* came thus

thus to his end in the Social War; The *Athenians* laid Siege to *Chium*, *Chabrias* was in the Navy only as a Reformade, yet he had greater Authority than any who were in places of Command; the Common Soldiers paying more reſpect to him than to any of their Officers, which prov'd the occaſion of haſtning his Death: For whilſt he was ambitious of making the firſt Entrance into the Harbour, and accordingly had directed the Pilot to ſteer in, this Adventure coſt him his Life; for when he was got in, none of the other Veſſels would follow; whereupon, being ſurrounded with the Attacks of the Enemy, he fought couragiouſly, till the Ship ſprung a Leak, by ſome damage toward the Head, and began to ſink under him. Hereupon, being unable to make any eſcape; for if he had thrown himſelf overboard, the *Athenians* would have took him up as he ſwum; he therefore choſe rather to dye in his ſtation, than to lay down his Arms and quit the ſhip: None of the other Sea-men would run the ſame hazzard, but leap'd out, and eſcap'd ſafe to ſhore; while *Chabrias*, preferring an honourable Death before an ignoble and ſlaviſh Life, fighting hand to hand upon the Deck, was at laſt kill'd on the place.

THE LIFE OF *TIMOTHEUS.*

Done into *English* by the Honourable Mr. *Booth*, of *Ch. Ch.* Coll. *Oxon.*

TIMOTHEUS, the Son of *Conon*, an *Athenian*, encreas'd his Hereditary Honour by his own Acquir'd Virtues; for he was Eloquent, Stout, and Industrious; and no less famous for the management of Civil than Military Affairs. He perform'd many eminent Exploits; but these following

following ſeem the moſt notable: He conquered the *Olynthians* and *Byzantins*, and took *Samos*; in which Enterprize (the year before) the *Athenians* had ſpent two hundred thouſand Talents; yet *Timotheus* gain'd this Iſland without putting the Publick to any Expence. He manag'd the War againſt *Cotys*, and took a Booty from him, for the Commonwealth, worth two hundred thouſand Talents. He alſo rais'd the Siege of *Cyzicus*; and accompanied *Ageſilaus* when he went to aſſiſt *Ariobarzanes*; of whom when *Ageſilaus* receiv'd preſent Pay, *Timotheus* choſe rather to increaſe the Poſſeſſions of his Fellow-Citizens, than accept of that his own private Family could only partake of; therefore he took *Erichthon* and *Seſtus*.

Timotheus being made Admiral of the Navy, ſailing along by *Peloponneſus*, he waſted the Countrey of *Laconia*, and beat their Fleet. He reduc'd *Corcyra* under the Government of the *Athenians*, with their Confederates of *Epirus*, *Acarnania*, and *Chaonia*, and all the Countries that border'd upon that Sea. By which action of his, the *Lacedæmonians* were forc'd to let fall their old Quarrel, and voluntarily to offer the *Athenians* the Dominion of the Seas; a Peace being Concluded between theſe two Common-

wealths, one Article was, *That the* Athenians *ſhould be Lords at Sea.* So great Joy was there at *Athens* upon the news of this Victory, that then it was that publick Altars were firſt Erected to the Goddeſs of Peace, and a Pallet appointed Her. The Memory of which noble Act, that they might perpetuate, they erected a Statue for him in the *Forum*; which Honour was never pay'd to any man before him, *viz.* That the ſame People who had ſet up a Statue for the Father, ſhould give the Son one too; the laſt ſerving to revive the Memory of the former.

When *Timotheus* was very ancient, and had quite left off all publick buſineſs, War began to threaten the *Athenians* on every ſide. *Samus* and *Helleſpont* revolted; and *Philip* of *Macedon*, being very powerful, made great Preparations for a War. Againſt whom, when they had ſent *Chares*, they thought him not ſtrong enough to oppoſe him; and thereupon make *Meneſtheus* (the Son of *Iphicrates*, and Son-in-law to *Timotheus*) their General; and order him to go to the War. They alſo ſend along with him his Father and Father-in-Law, to be his Counſellors; Men excelling in Experience and Wiſdom, whoſe Advice he ſhould always follow, becauſe they were Pet-

Persons of such Authority, that there was great hopes by their means they might recover all they had lost. When these two were gone to *Samos*, and *Chares* had intelligence of it, he drew all his forces thither, left there should be any Action in his absence. It so happen'd, that when they came near the Island, there arose a great storm; for the avoiding of which, the two old Generals thought it very expedient to cast Anchor. But *Chares*, without any consideration, not obeying the commands of his Counsellors, but as if he had Fortune in the Ship with him, draws near to Engage; and sends a Messenger to *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, commanding them to follow him. This Attempt having succeeded ill, and losing a considerable number of his Ships, he retires back again from whence he came, and dispatches an express to *Athens*, to let them know, that he could easily have taken *Samos* had he not been deserted by *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*. Upon this Accusation of his, they were Impeach'd. The Commons, who were fierce, jealous factious, changeable, and Enemies also to all in Power, call them home; and accuse them of betraying their Country. In this Trial *Timotheus* is cast, and Fin'd an hundred Talents; and so being compell'd, through the ill will of an ungrate-

ful City, he retires to *Calcis*. After his Death, the People repenting of the Sentence they had paſs'd upon him, remitted all but a tenth part of his Fine, and oblige his Son *Conon* to repair part of a Wall. In which Action may be ſeen the various turns of Fortune; for thoſe very Walls which the Grandfather *Conon* had Rebuilt with the Spoils of the Enemy, is the Nephew forc'd to Repair out of his own Eſtate, to the great ſcandal of his Family. We might produce many inſtances of the Wiſdom and Moderation of *Timotheus*; but one ſhall ſuffice; from whence we may eaſily conjecture, how dear he was to his Friends. When he was but a young Man, he was forc'd at *Athens* to plead for himſelf; and not only his Friends and private Acquaintance came to his Aſſiſtance, but alſo *Jaſon* the Tyrant, who at that time was a Man of very conſiderable power. This Man, tho in his own Kingdom, never thought himſelf ſafe without his Guards about him, yet came alone to *Athens*, valuing his Friend at ſo dear a rate, that he rather choſe to endanger his own Life, than not aſſiſt *Timotheus* in vindicating his Honour. But notwithſtanding all this, *Timotheus* ſoon after by the Command of the people, fought againſt him; accounting the obligations to his Countrey greater than

thoſe

thoſe of Friendſhip. This was the laſt Age of the *Athenian* Commanders; for after *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias*, and *Timotheus*, there was no Commander of any note in that City.

THE LIFE OF *DATAMES.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Edwards*, M. A. and Fellow of St. *John*'s Coll. *Oxon.*

DATAMES a *Carian*, the Son of *Camiſſares* by a *Scythian* Lady, was the moſt conſiderable for Valour and prudent conduct, of any of thoſe of the *Barbarous* Nations, except the two famous *Carthaginians Hamilcar* and *Hannibal*. What he did was great, and out of the uſual road; yet ſo little known, that we are oblig'd to be the

the larger in our Account of him: For he never ow'd his ſucceſs to the greatneſs of his Army, or to any of the common cauſes of it; but always to that which ſeem'd his peculiar Talent, a moſt extraordinary Policy. His firſt Employment was in the Guards at *Artaxerxes* his Court; but his Father, as the Reward of his eminent Courage and Conſtant Fidelity to the King, had the Government of that part of *Cicilia* which lies upon *Capadocia*, and is inhabited by the *Leucoſyrians*. *Datames* having a Command in the Army, firſt ſignaliz'd himſelf in the War againſt the *Caduſians*; in which there were many thouſands kill'd, and chiefly by his means; for which Service, *Camiſſares* likewiſe falling in the Battel, he ſucceeded him in the Province.

Autophradates being ſent by the King to reduce ſome to their obedience who had revolted, he behav'd himſelf with equal Gallantry; for by his management a ſmall Party ſurpriz'd the Enemy in their Camp, and deſtroy'd them; the greateſt part of the Army doing no ſervice at all in the Action. After this, he was remov'd to higher Employments; for *Thyus*, the Prince of *Paphlagonia*, (deſcended from that *Pylæmenes* which *Homer* ſays was ſlain by *Patroclus* in the *Trojan* War) not ſufficiently complying

with

with the King, *Datames* (who was his Confin German) was ſent with an army to force his ſubmiſſion to the Kings Pleaſure. But he intending to uſe his utmoſt endeavours, to make his Relation ſenſible of his duty upon eaſie terms, and not ſuſpecting any Treachery from a Friend, went to him without any attendants; altho his Confidence put him in extream danger; for *Thyus* had reſolv'd upon a private Aſſaſſination. *Datames* having intelligence of the deſign from his Mother, who was *Thyus*'s Aunt, and underſtood his intentions, made his eſcape, and immediately proclaim'd the War; which he vigorouſly continued, tho he was deſerted by *Ariobarzanes* the Governour of *Lydia*, *Ionia*, and all *Phrygia*; and made not only *Thyus*, but his Wife and Children too, his Captives.

He made all the haſt imaginable, that the news of this Exploit might not get to the King before him, and got privately to Court, without any one's knowledg. The next day he ſhew'd his Captive, who was a vaſt black hairy Man, with a frightful and ghaſtly countenance, dreſſed very richly in the Habit of a *Perſian* Nobleman; with a Golden collar, and all other Princely Ornaments. He himſelf appear'd meanly, like a peaſant, in a Hunters Head-piece, made of the skins of

ſeveral

ſeveral Beaſts; with a Club in one hand and Toyls in the other; and brought him out in ſuch a manner as if he had been ſome cruel Monſter, juſt ſubdued. So unuſual a ſight drew a great many Spectators; one being accidentally there that knew *Thyus*, inform'd the King of it. But he at firſt ſuſpecting ſo ſtrange a ſtory, commanded *Pharnabazus* to go and bring him a certain relation of the thing; from whom, when he had receiv'd full ſatisfaction, he commanded him to be brought into his Preſence, and was infinitely pleas'd with the humour; but eſpecially, that ſo great a Prince ſhould ſo unexpectedly come into his hands. After he had for this nobly rewarded *Datames*, he ſent him to the Army which was then rais'd againſt *Egypt*, under *Pharnabazus* and *Tithrauſtes*, and gave him a Command equal to theirs; and after *Pharnabazus* was recall'd, He was made *Generaliſſimo*. But whilſt he was haſtning the general Rendeſvouz of the Army, and preparing for his March to *Egypt*, he receiv'd an Expreſs from the King, that he ſhould go againſt *Aſpis* the Governour of *Cataonia*; a Country which lies above *Cilicia*, and borders upon *Cappadocia*. For *Aſpis* depending upon his Woods and ſtrong Frontier-Towns, not only diſobey'd ſome of the

Kings

Kings Commands, but rob'd his Carriages, and made incursions on all about him. Tho *Datames* was at a great distance from *Cataonia*, and then in the management of greater Affairs, yet he yielded to the Kings pleasure; and in order to the execution of it, set Sail only with a few, but very stout Men; supposing, (as indeed it afterwards happen'd) that he could have more advantage over him with a small Company upon surprize, than with a great Army after open defiance. Being arriv'd at *Cilicia*, he continned his Marches till he had pass'd over Mount *Taurus*, and was come to the end of his Journey. Enquiring for *Aspis*, he understood that he was hunting near that place. The occasion of *Datames*'s coming was presently suspected; and therefore *Aspis* immediately put the *Pisidæ*, and others he had with him, in a posture of defence. Upon notice of which, *Datames* muster'd up his Men, and commanded them to follow him; and being mounted on an excellent Horse, rid briskly up to the Enemy. But *Aspis* perceiving the vigour of the first onset, the least endeavours of resistance were discourag'd; he immediately surrendred himself; and was sent in Chains to the King, by *Mithridates*.

Ar-

Artaxerxes, whilſt theſe things were in agitation, recollecting, that he had call'd one of his beſt Commanders from a conſiderable Poſt, and ſent him upon a trivial employment; but thinking that perhaps he was not yet gone, diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to *Ace*, with orders that he ſhould by no means leave the Army. But the Command was ſuperceeded; for thoſe that guarded *Aſpis* were met upon the way. *Datames* having accompliſh'd his buſineſs with ſuch unexpected Expedition, was greater in the Kings Favour than ever; and became ſo conſiderable, that he was the Envy of the whole Court. For they perceiv'd, that his ſingle intereſt was greater than theirs in conjunction, and therefore all jointly conſpir'd his ruin. *Pandates* the Treaſurer, who was his Confident, made him acquainted with all their deſigns, and told him by Letter what danger he was in, if any miſcarriage ſhould happen during his conduct in *Egypt*; That Kings took the Honour of great Actions to themſelves, but always imputed ill ſucceſs to their Miniſters, and therefore were eaſily inclined to diſgrace thoſe whom they thought the occaſion of it; That His condition was worſe than any others, becauſe it was the temper of the King, to hate thoſe moſt who had before been

been his chief Favourites. Having receiv'd this news upon his coming back to the Army at *Ace*, and knowing the advice was not to be contemned, he resolved to leave the Kings Service, but did nothing that was inconsistent with his Trust; for he left the Army under *Mandrocles* a *Magnesian*, went with a Detachment of his own Men into *Cappadocia*, and seiz'd *Paphlagonia*, which lay next to it, without discovering his disaffection to the King. After which he held a secret correspondence with *Ariobarzanes*, got some men together, and plac'd them in the fortified Towns for the defence of the Garrison. But it being Winter, the season of the year hindred some of his designs.

Hearing the *Pisidæ* were preparing some Forces against him, he sent his Son *Aristides* thither with an Army. The young General was kill'd in the Engagement. But his Father, concealing the loss he had receiv'd, went with some more men into the Field, being willing to get to the Enemy before his Soldiers had the report of the Defeat; for he thought the news of his Sons Death would very much discourage them. Being arriv'd at the place he design'd, he so encamp'd that he could neither be oppress'd with the numerous Forces of the

the Enemy, nor yet hindred from making any advantageous Aſſault. His Father-in-Law *Mithrobarzanes*, Captain of the Horſe, was then with him; but thinking their condition very deſperate, went over to the Enemy. Of which *Datames* having notice, he preſently conſidered, that the noiſe of his being deſerted by ſo conſiderable a man, might make the reſt revolt; and therefore gave out, that *Mithrobarzanes* was by his orders gone away like a Renegade, that he might be admitted by the Enemy, and ſo deſtroy them with leſs Difficulty, That therefore they ought not to deliver him into their hands, but immediately to follow him; which if they did with reſolution, the *Piſidæ* could make no reſiſtance, for they would be ſlain both in their Camp and in the Field. The Deſign being approved of, he led out his Army, and purſued *Mithrobarzanes*; upon whoſe approach to the Enemy, *Datames* commanded his Standard to be ſet up. The *Piſidæ* being in great confuſion at the ſuddenneſs of the buſineſs, ſuſpected the Renegades, and imagined they came with a treacherous deſign of doing the greater miſchief. Therefore they firſt fell upon them: which ſurpriſing accident put them in ſuch diſorder, that they were forc'd to fight with

thoſe

those whom they had deserted: But being spar'd by neither, were all presently cut off. *Datames* afterwards falling upon the *Pisidæ*, forc'd them to fly, kill'd many in the pursuit, and took possession of their Camp. By this Stratagem he at once punished the Deserters, and gained a Victory over his Enemies, and made that which was intended for his Ruin, the means of his success. And perhaps it was a Design so cunningly laid, and in so little a time effected, that History can shew nothing parallel to it.

Notwithstanding these great Exploits, *Scismas* his eldest Son left him, and gave the King an account of his defection. *Artaxerxes* being troubled at the news, (for he knew he was to dealwith a man of undaunted Courage, one who never design'd any thing but what he dar'd venture to effect, and never attempted any thing but what he had sufficiently consider'd) sent *Autophradates* into *Cappadocia*. *Datames* endeavour'd to possess himself of the Forest, which is the passage to *Cicilia*: but not being able so suddenly to get his men together, he was oblig'd to take other measures; yet he chose so commodious a place for his Camp, that the Enemy could neither enclose him, nor pass by him without being attacqu'd in several places: and was posted so advantagiously

that

that in any Encounter their Multitudes could do very little damage to his ſmall Company.

Altho *Autophradates* was ſenſible of all this, yet he was reſolv'd rather to engage him, than either to continue long in that place, or go back with a great Army; for he had in the Field twenty thouſand Horſe, an hundred thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Slingers; which were the *Cardaces*, a people of the Leſſer *Aſia*; beſides theſe, eight thouſand out of *Cappadocia*, ten out of *Armenia*, five from *Paphlagonia*, ten from *Phrygia*, five from *Lydia*, about three thouſand of the *Aſpendii* and *Piſidæ*, two from *Cilicia*, as many of the *Caſpians*, and three thouſand Mercenaries, which he had out of *Greece*; beſides a conſiderable number of Light-Horſe. All *Datames*'s hopes of doing any thing againſt ſuch mighty Forces, were in himſelf, and the convenience of the place wherein he was Encamp'd; for he had not the twentieth part of the men which were brought by *Autophradates*. Nevertheleſs with theſe he ventur'd to give him Battel; and in it, with but the loſs of about a thouſand men, cut off ſeveral thouſands of his. In memory of which he erected a Trophy, the next day, in the place where they fought. After he had remov'd his Camp from

thence, tho his Army was ever the leaſt, yet he was ſtill greateſt when the Fight was done; for he underſtood the Countrey, and always contriv'd, that the Enemy ſhould be confin'd to ſuch narrow places, where he had no room to manage any conſiderable number of men. *Autophradates* finding the War prov'd more unſucceſsful to his Maſter than to *Datames*, ſolicited him to a Peace, and promis'd to reſtore him to the Kings Favour. He accepted the Conditions, tho he did not think them real; and ſaid he intended to ſend his Ambaſſadors to *Artaxerxes*, in order to an Accomodation. And the War being thus ended, *Autophradates* went into *Phrygia*.

But the King hated *Datames* ſo implacably, that when he ſaw his deſtruction could not be accompliſh'd by any open Force, he endeavour'd by ſome ſecret Methods to take him off. But he defeated ſeveral of their deſigns; of which the moſt remarkable was this; he had intelligence, that ſome about him, and ſuch as were reputed his Friends, had contriv'd his Death; this he thought becauſe it came from his Enemies, was neither to be over-much credited, nor perfectly ſlighted; but being willing to ſee the reality of the thing, he went to the very place where he was told they intended

tended the Assassination; To one that exactly resembled him for shape and stature, he likewise gave his Habit, and commanded him during the Journey to represent him, by riding in his place. He himself was Accouter'd like a Common Soldier, and Rid amongst His Guards. And charg'd all the Company to observe his motions, and second them. When the Conspirators saw the Company, they were deceived by the place and dress, and assaulted the Counterfeit: which when *Datames* perceiv'd, he presently threw out his Darts, and the rest (according to the Sign) doing so too, they were all kill'd upon the spot.

Yet at last this sagacious Man was over-reach'd by a project of *Mithridates*, the Son of *Ariobarzanes*; who assur'd the King of his Death, upon condition he might act as he pleas'd with impunity. The liberty being granted, and the Promise (according to the Custom of the *Persians*) confirmed by the hand, he pretended an open Defiance of the King, raised Forces, besieged his Towns, and vext his Provinces; by Agents desir'd a correspondence with *Datames*, and after a Distribution amongst his Soldiers, complemented him with a Present of rich Spoils. By these Actions he perswaded *Datames*, that he had engaged

gaged himſelf in an everlaſting Quarrel with the King; but however, to prevent the leaſt ſuſpition of his deſigns, he neither deſir'd a Conference with him, or an Enterview; but manag'd his falſe Friendſhip ſo well at diſtance, that nothing ſhould ſeem to be the foundation of it, but their common hatred of the King.

When he thought he had ſufficiently ſetled him in this opinion, he ſent him word, that it was neceſſary they ſhould prepare greater Forces, and engage themſelves in an Actual War with the King himſelf; and if he approved the Propoſal, that he would meet him at any place he ſhould chuſe to conſult farther about it. The time and place being appointed; *Mithridates*, going thither ſome days before, with one that was his Confident, hid ſeveral Swords, and nicely obſerved how they lay. When the day came which they had fix'd upon, they both ſent ſome Servants to view the place, and then met according to the agreement. After they had ſpent ſome time in the debate, and were parted, *Mithridates*, (that he might not be at all ſuſpected) before he was got to his Company, return'd to the ſame place, and ſat down where he had buried one of the Daggers, as

if

if he had design'd only to rest himself. But having taken up the Weapon, and conceal'd it under his Clothes, he sent for *Datames*, under pretence that he had forgotten some important matter; and told him, that as he pass'd along he had spyed a very convenient place for their Camp. *Datames* turning, and looking with some earnestness upon the place which he shew'd him, was immediately stabb'd in the Back, and dy'd before any one could come up to his assistance. Thus he that had over-reach'd many by generous Stratagems, but none by any base Treachery, was at last deceiv'd and ruined by the plausible pretences of Friendship.

THE LIFE OF EPAMINONDAS.

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Lane*, Fellow of *Merton* Coll. *Oxon.*

EPAMINONDAS the Son of *Polymnius*, was a *Theban*. But before we begin our account of him, it ſeems neceſſary to deſire the Readers, that they would not make an Eſtimate of other Peoples Manners by their own; nor ſuppoſe, that things of ſmall value with them, bear the ſame rate amongſt all the reſt of Mankind.

Muſick

Muſick (we know) according to our ſentiments, is below the Dignity of a Prince; to Dance, the mean Employ of Slaves; yet amongſt the *Grecians* theſe are Gentile Accompliſhments, of great repute. *Epaminondas*'s character deſerves to have nothing omitted, that may conduce to the knowledg of ſo great a Man; wherefore we ſhall in the firſt place diſcourſe of his *Parentage*, in the next of his *Education*, then of his *Manners* and *Diſpoſition*, (and if there be any thing elſe on thoſe heads worth relating); and in the laſt place, concerning his *Actions*; Theſe are the great concern of life, and are by moſt preferr'd before all the ſolitary Habits of a lazy Virtue. His Fathers name you have heard before. His Family was gentile, yet ſuch as might receive, not give a luſtre. Poverty ſeem'd entail'd upon him from his Anceſtors; yet never was *Theban* more gentilely Educated. He learn'd to play on the Lute, and to Sing, from *Dyoniſius*; whoſe Fame in Muſick was not leſs than the celebrated Names of *Damon* or *Lamprus*. *Olimpiodorus* taught him the Flute, and *Callipbron* to dance. His Tutor in Philoſophy was *Lyſis* the *Tarentinian*, of the *Pythagorean* Sect; he was ſo great an Admirer of this old man, that his reſerv'd ſevere Converſation pleas'd him better

than the gay Company of his Equals; Neither would he leave him, till he had ſo far out gone his Fellow Pupils, that it was apparent his Excellence in other Arts would be proportionate to his happy ſucceſs in theſe. If you give a judgment according to our Cuſtoms, theſe things may ſeem mean and contemptible, and not proper Theams of Praiſe; yet were they anciently in *Greece* of as great concern as good breeding could make them. After he was fifteen years old, he betook himſelf to the Academy, for the Exerciſes of the Body; where he did not ſo much aim at greatneſs of ſtrength, as nimbleneſs in motion; The firſt he knew might gain applauſe in a Ring, the other was of the greateſt uſe in War. Therefore he deſign'd to himſelf ſuch a perfection in Running and Wraſtling, as he might be able while he was ſtanding on his Feet, to grapple and cloſe with his Enemy; *but neglected the other tricks of theſe Exerciſes, which were perform'd by the Parties tugging and tumbling one another on the Ground.* Theſe were his Recreations; Arms were his ſerious buſineſs. This Strength of Body thus gain'd, was attended with a more numerous train of Goods of the Mind. He was modeſt, prudent, grave in his Behaviour, of great

Ad-

Addreſs, and none more wiſe in managing each juncto of time to the greateſt advantage. He was well skill'd in the Art of War, Valiant in the Duties of it, and of an undaunted Courage; So ſevere a Lover of Truth, that he would not lye in Jeſt; Chaſt, compaſſionate, and patient in an eminent degree; eaſily forgiving, not only the Injuries of the Multitude, but of his Friends; above all things, careful to conceal Secrets committed to him; *which ſort of Silence is ſometimes of as great advantage as the cleareſt Eloquence.* He thought the readieſt way to learn, was to hear; therefore when he came to any place in which Debates were held, either in Politicks or Philoſophy, he never departed until the Diſcourſe was at an end. Poverty was ſo eaſie a thing to him, that Glory was the only advantage he made of the Common-wealth. In his Neceſſities he was perfidiouſly deſerted by his Friends; yet was his Kindneſs ſo conſtant to others in their Wants, that one would gueſs his Principle was, *That Friends have all things in Common.* Thus, when any of his Country-men were taken Captive, or any of his Acquaintance had a Daughter Marriageable, who could not be preferr'd for want of Fortune, he call'd a Conſult of Friends, allotted to every

one

one (according to the proportion of his Estate) what he should give; and when the design'd sum was made up, he would not himself receive it; but introduc'd the person who was to receive the benefit, to collect it, that he might know how much he ow'd to every one's kindness. He gave a brave experiment of his Integrity in the repulse of *Diomedon* the *Cyrenian*, who at the request of *Artaxerxes* had undertaken to corrupt *Epaminondas*; in pursuit of this design, he comes to *Thebes* with vast Sums of Gold, and with a Present of five Talents brings over to his Party *Micythus*, a young Man whom *Epaminondas* dearly lov'd. *Micythus* addresses himself to *Epaminondas*, and acquaints him with the Gift he had receiv'd, and the reason of *Diomedon's* coming; whereupon he sent for *Diomedon*, and thus speaks to him: *There is no want of Money; for if the King desires such things as are for the Interest of Thebes, I am ready to comply with him without the Bribe of a Reward. But if they are of another nature, he has not Silver and Gold enough. For the Love of my Country weighs more with me, than all the Riches of the Universe. That you who did not know me, and thought me like your self, made this Attempt upon my Virtue, is no wonder; and I forgive you: But haste you hence. Such Temptations may prevail on others, tho they can't on me.*

And

And you, Micythus, restore him his money; which if you do not presently do, I will deliver you up into hands of Justice. Diomedon, dejected at the resolute Honesty of the Man, now only desires *to return safely Home, and carry his Treasures along with him. You shall* (replies *Epaminondas*), *not for your sake, but my own; lest if your Money should be taken from you, any one should suspect, That I accepted them as a Spoil, which I had before refus'd as a Gift; and did not so much contemn the Bribe, as hate the Obligations of it.* Then he ask'd him, whither he would be convey'd, and *Diomedon* answering to *Athens*, he gave him a Guard to conduct him thither; and not content with this, he took care, by his Friend *Chabrias* the *Athenian* (whom we have mention'd before), that he should securely take Shipping there. I suppose this is a sufficient testimony of his unshaken Honesty. We might produce a great many more of the like nature, but we must deny our selves that liberty; because we design in this one Volume to comprehend the Lives of many Illustrious Persons; upon each of whom other Writers before us have bestow'd large Commentaries. He was the most eloquent of the *Thebans*; nor less acute in extemporary Repartee, than persuasive in continued Discourses.

One

One *Meneclides* was his professed Enemy, always opposing him in the Government of the Common wealth; he was a Man ready and bold in Discourse; that is, he was a *Theban*, to which Nation Nature seems to have allotted more of Strength than Wit. When this Man found, that *Epaminondas*'s Conduct in Military Affairs gain'd him Reputation, he began to advise the *Thebans*, *To lay aside the thoughts of War, and enjoy themselves in Peace.* This he did, not out of any Love to his Countrey, but to stifle the occasions of *Epaminondas*'s Glory. To this *Epaminondas* replies, *War indeed is a dismal Word; and 'tis the Sound alone that you make use of, to affright our Citizens from their interest. 'Tis ease that you pretend, but Slavery is meant; for the Foundations of Peace are best laid by the Sword; and they that propose to themselves an undisturbed and flourishing Tranquility, must be well Disciplined in War. Therefore (O Thebans) would you raise your State above the rest of* Greece? *This Glory is to be gain'd in Camps, not Schools of Exercise.* At another time, when this same *Meneclides* objected to him, *that he was never married, and had no Children*; and principally insisted on this, as a great height of insolence, *that he durst compare his own actions with those of* Agamemnon's. He answer'd, *Meneclides,*

clides, do not object the want of a Wife; for I ſhould in that affair ſooner take any Man's advice than yours, (for *Menecli-des* lay under the ſuſpition of a very in-con'inent Fellow): *But you are miſtaken if you think it my Ambition to reach* Aga-memnon's *Glory; for he, with the Aſſi-ſtance of all* Greece, *ſcarcely at laſt, in ten years time, took one City; whereas I, on the other ſide, with the ſingle Forces of one City, and in one day, routed the* Lacedæ-monians, *and deliver'd all* Greece *from Slavery.* When he went to the Conven-tion of the States of *Arcadia*, to engage them in a League with the *Thebans* and *Argives*, he found there *Calliſtratus* the *A-thenian* Ambaſſador, to oppoſe his deſigns, who was eſteem'd the beſt Orator of his time; he very bitterly inveighed againſt the *Thebans* and *Argives*, who were then Confederates; and amongſt the reſt of the Invectives, were theſe, *That the* Ar-cadians *ſhould conſider what kind of Men both Cities had produced, and from thence give a judgment of the reſt*: Oreſtes *and* Alcmeon *were* Argives, *and theſe wicked-ly murdered their Mother*: Odippus *was born at* Thebes, *who when he had killed his Father, married his Mother; and had Children by her.* When *Epaminondas* had anſwered the reſt of his Speech, he came at laſt to his Railing and ſaid,

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He wondred at the Folly of the Athenian *Orator, who did not consider, That these Men were born Innocent, but when they had contracted Wickedness enough to be Expell'd their own Country, were yet thought good enough to be receiv'd and caress'd at Athens.* But then did his Eloquence most eminently appear, when before the Battel of *Leuctra*, all the Ambassadors of the Confederates were met at *Sparta*: Here, in this great Assembly, he so clearly set forth the Tyranny of the *Lacedæmonians*, that his Discourse did as much shake the Greatness of that State, as the Battel at *Leuctra*; for then it was (which appear'd afterwards) that they were deprived of the assistance of their allies. That he was a very forgiving Man, and thought it unlawful to be angry at, or revenge the Injuries of his Country, take the following instances: When Envy had so far work'd him out of the Affections of his Citizens, that they would not chuse him General, but supplied that Trust with a very unskilful Commander, whose imprudence led their Forces into such Streights that they were enclosed by their Enemies, and now near Ruin; they began to reflect upon, and wish for the good Conduct of *Epaminondas*, who was at this time a Common Soldier in the Army. To him they apply themselves for

assistance,

assistance, who taking no notice of their Ingratitude, raised the Enemies Leaguer, and secur'd a safe Retreat to the Army. Such Actions as these he often perform'd; but that which bears a greater lustre than any of the rest, is his brave deportment when he led the Army into *Peloponnesus* against the *Lacedæmonians*: in which Expedition he had two Collegues, one of which was *Pelopidas*, a very valiant Man, who falling under the Envy of some Crimes that were fastned upon him by his adversaries, all their Commands were taken from them, and new Pretors appointed to succeed. *Epaminondas* refus'd to obey this Act of State, and perswaded his Collegues to do the like, and so they proceeded in the management of that War. The reason upon which *Epaminondas* acted was this, *He foresaw (if he complied) the ignorance and Folly of the designed Commanders would ruin the Army.* The Law was, *That it should be Death for any man to retain his Command longer than was limited by his Commission.* This *Epaminondas* well understood, and the danger of it; but did not think fit, *That the Law which was made for the Preservation of the Commonwealth, should be turned to its Ruin*; therefore he durst continue his Command four months longer than the People had enact-

enacted. After their return home, his Colleagues being impeached upon this Crime, he permitted them to cast the whole guilt upon him, and to plead, *that it was wholly through his means they had not obeyed the Orders of the State.* Which Plea brought them clearly off; but none could believe *Epaminondas* would make any Reply, because the Crime being plain, they could not fancy what Defence could be made in the Case He makes his Appearance, pleads Guilty to his Indict ment, and confesses all that his Colle ues had laid to his Charge, and tells m, that he was very ready to undergo : punishment the Law appointed; b. now, being a Dying Man desir'd this one favour of them, that that this Inscription might be wrote on his Tomb, Epaminondas *was put to Death by the* Thebans, *because at* Leuctra *he forced them to overcome the* Lacedæmonians: *whom, before he was General, not a Man of the whole Country of* Bœtia *had the courage to look upon in the Field; and that in one Battel he not only raised* Thebes *from out of its Ruins, but restored all* Greece *its Liberty, and so far changed the Scene of Affairs, that the* Thebans *besieged* Sparta, *and the* Lacedæmonian *Pride was brought so low as to be contented* not to be slaves: *Neither, tho*

commanded

commanded, would be lay down his Arms till he had Fortified Messena, *and by that means laid a perpetual Bridle upon the proud City of Sparta.* This Speech raised Admiration, Laughter, and Applause in the whole Assembly; so that not one of the Judges durst give their Verdict. And thus he came off this Trial for his Life with great Reputation. The last time he was General, was at *Mantinea*; where, pressing too boldly amongst the Enemies, they soon apprehended the advantage, and (knowing his Death would be the safety of their Country) turn'd their whole Force upon him, encompassed him, and would not leave the pursuit, till after a great Slaughter on both sides, and a brave resistance made by *Epaminondas*, they saw him (wounded with a Dart) fall to the ground. This sad accident did at first somewhat discourage the *Bœotians*, but recollecting themselves, Revenge succeeded Grief, and they gave not over till they had utterly routed the Enemy. *Epaminondas* finding himself mortally wounded, and knowing, that should the Shaft be pull'd out of his Head, he must immediately dye, kept it in so long till 'twas told him his Army had got the Victory; *Then* (says he) *I have lived long enough, for I shall dye unconquered.* So the Iron being

drawn out, he immediately expir'd. He was never Married; for which *Pelopidas* (who had a very Debauch'd Son) thus reproving him, *that he took but little care of the Commonwealth, who would not leave Children behind him to ſupport it after his Death.* He replies, *Conſider whether you do not perform worſe Offices to it, in leaving ſo lewd an Heir, who may help to deſtroy, but cannot maintain a Commonwealth: But as for me, I cannot want Iſſue; the* Leuctran *Victory is my Offspring, which will not only ſurvive me, but will immortalize my Name.* At the time that the Exiles, under the Conduct of *Pelopidas*, ſurpriz'd *Thebes*, and drove the *Lacedæmonian* Garriſon out of the Caſtle, *Epaminondas* (ſo long as his own Citizens were engag'd in the Fight) kept himſelf at home, and forbore all Action. The reaſon of which proceeding was, that he could not in Honour join with theſe Betrayers of their Countrey, nor would he appear in Arms againſt them, becauſe he would not ſtain himſelf with the Blood of his Countrey-men; for he well knew, *That Victory in a Civil War was at beſt but an unfortunate Prize.* But this ſame Man, as ſoon as the Battel was drawn off as far as the *Cadmea*, and the *Lacedæmonians* only concern'd, thruſt himſelf into the formoſt Rank. I think

I ſhall have ſaid enough of the Virtues and Actions of this great Man, if I add but this one thing, which none can deny, That before *Epaminondas*'s Birth, and after his Death, *Thebes* was conſtantly ſubject to a Forreign Power; but on the contrary, while he Preſided in that Commonwealth, it became the Leading State of *Greece*. Whence we may draw this concluſion, *That the Bravery of one Great Man does more advance a State than the whole Maſs of People.*

THE LIFE OF PELOPIDAS.

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Creech.*

PELOPIDAS, the *Theban*, is more famous in Hiſtory than common Talk; of whoſe Virtues I cannot tell in what manner I ſhall treat; for ſhould I give a full deſcription of his Actions, 'tis juſtly to be feared, that I ſhould rather ſeem to write a Hiſtory than his Life; and if I ſhould only touch upon the heads, that then I ſhould cloud his Reputation; and thoſe who are unacquainted with the *Greek* Hiſtories,

ries, would not perceive how great a Man he was: Therefore, to the beſt of my power to prevent both, I ſhall provide againſt the ſatiety as well as ignorance of my Readers. *Phœbidas* the *Spartan*, as he led his Army through *Thebes* towards *Olynthus*, at the inſtigation of ſome few *Thebans* (who, that they might the more eaſily check the contrary Faction, ſided with the *Spartan* intereſt) ſurpriz'd the Citadel *Cadmea*; and this he did, not by any order from the State, but upon his own head; for which the *Lacedæmonians* took away his Commiſſion, and ſet a Fine upon him; but refus'd to ſurrender the Caſtle to the *Thebans*; concluding it more politick, now diſtaſte was once given, to continue a Guard upon them, than permit them to be free. For after the *Peloponneſian* War, and the *Athenians* overcome, they ſaw the *Thebans* only ſtand in competition and dare to oppoſe their Empire. Upon this account they put their Friends in power; and as for the Heads of the contrary Faction, ſome they butcher'd, and ſome they Baniſh'd: Amongſt which, this *Pelopidas* (whom I mentioned in the beginning) was an Exile. Almoſt all theſe fled to *Athens*, not to live lazily, and at eaſe, but as being the neareſt and moſt convenient ſtation, whence on the firſt opportunity they might en-

deavour the freedom of their Country: And therefore as ſoon as time appear'd, upon agreement with their friends at *Thebes*, they made choice of that day in which the Governors uſed to meet at a publick Banquet, to deſtroy their Enemies, and free the City: Great Actions are often perform'd with no great force: But certainly never before from ſo mean a beginning as this, was ſo great an Empire overthrown: For not above twelve of the baniſh'd Youth undertook the Enterprize, and not above an hundred would join with them in ſo dangerous an Attempt; and yet by this deſpicable number was the Power of the *Spartans* Ruin'd: for theſe did not ſo much Attempt the contrary Faction in *Thebes*, as the *Lacedæmonians*, the then Lords of *Greece*; and whoſe Empire firſt wounded by this Action, was a little while after in the Battel of *Leuctra* brought to the laſt gaſp: Now theſe twelve, *Pelopidas* their Leader, leaving *Athens* in the daytime, that about the duſk of the Evening they might reach *Thebes*, to prevent ſuſpition they put themſelves in a Country dreſs, and appear'd like Hunters, with Hounds, Hunting-Poles and Nets; and entring the City at the very nick of time they refreſht themſelves at *Charons* houſe, by whoſe appointment the day for the

Attempt,

Attempt was ſet. And here I crave leave to break my ſtory with a ſhort Obſervation, To what great Calamities doth ſupine ſecurity expoſe! For the *Theban* Magiſtrates were quickly informed, that the Exiles were in Town: but being eager on their Entertainment, they ſlighted the diſcovery ſo much, that they would not trouble themſelves to examine a matter of ſo great concernment: Beſides, which is a clearer demonſtration of their madneſs, a Letter was brought from *Archias* the chief Prieſt of *Athens*, to *Archias* the chief Magiſtrate of *Thebes*, which made a full diſcovery of the Plot: This being delivered him while he was at Table, without opening it, he clapt it under his Cuſhion, with theſe words, *I adjourn Buſineſs till to morrow.* In the dead of the night, when they were well drunk, the Exiles, under the Conduct of *Pelopidas*, diſpatcht them all: And that work once over, and the common People call'd in to Liberty and Arms, many from the Countrey as well as Town came in to their Aſſiſtance. They beat the *Spartan* Garriſon out of the Caſtle, freed their Countrey, and as for thoſe who enticed *Phœbidas* to ſurprize the *Cadmea*, ſome they Executed, and ſome they baniſh'd. All this unquiet time, *Epaminondas* (as I hinted in his Life) whilſt

the Citizens only quarrel'd amongſt themſelves, never ſtirr'd; and therefore the freeing of *Thebes* is the peculiar Glory of *Pelopidas*. In almoſt all other Exploits *Epaminondas* had a ſhare; for in the Battel at *Leuctra*, *Epaminondas* was General, and *Pelopidas* Captain of a Select Band, which firſt broke the Main Body of the *Spartans*; and in all Enterpriſes he made one. Thus when *Sparta* was ſtorm'd, he Commanded one Wing; and that the old *Meſſenians* might quickly recover their own Country, He himſelf went an Ambaſſador to the *Perſian*. In ſhort, he was the other Man at *Thebes*; tho but ſecond, yet ſo as to be next *Epaminondas*. He had alſo croſs fortune to Encounter; for firſt (as I have already mention'd) he liv'd in Baniſhment; and when he deſign'd to bring *Theſſaly* under the *Theban* Power, and thought the Character of an Ambaſſador, which all Nations hold Sacred, was a ſufficient Protection: He and *Iſmenias* were ſeiz'd by *Alexander* the *Pherean* Tyrant, and clapt in Chains. *Epaminondas* Warr'd on *Alexander*, and reliev'd him; but never after that could he be Friends with him that had offered the affront: And therefore he perſwaded the *Thebans*, to undertake the Protection of *Theſſaly*, and expel the Tyrants. He being chief Commander

mander in that Expedition, and having led his Forces into *Theſſaly*, as ſoon as ever he came in ſight of the Enemy, haſted to a Battel: In which Fight when he ſaw *Alexander*, fir'd with rage, he ſpur'd his Horſe towards him, and advancing a great way before His Soldiers, was ſhot through. This happen'd in his ſecond Victory, for the Tyrants Forces were already routed: For this Action, all the Cities of *Theſſaly* Honour'd dead *Pelopidas* with Golden Crowns, and Brazen Statues, and gave his Children a conſiderable piece of Land.

THE

THE LIFE OF *AGESILAUS.*

Done into *English* by Mr. *Scott*, M. A. and Fellow of *Queens* Coll. *Oxon.*

AGESILAUS of *Lacedæmon*, is a person highly applanded by the greater part of Historians, particularly by *Xenophon*, Scholar of *Socrates*, who treats him with a singular respect. At first he stood in Competition for the Crown with *Leotychides*, his Brother *Agis*'s Son. It was a received

ceived Cuſtom amongſt the *Spartans*, to Dignifie two Perſons at a time with the Name of King, tho in effect neither of them had much of the [*a*] Power. Theſe two were always to be of the two Eminent Families of *Proclus* and *Euryſthenes* formerly Kings of *Sparta*, who had both deſcended from the ever famous *Hercules*, and from him had derived their Titles; yet eſpecial care was taken, that the two lines ſhould not mix and confound, but that each ſhould deſcend in its proper Channel, and that in both theſe the Eldeſt Heir Male ſhould always ſucceed: and in defect of him, the next Prince of the Blood; the Female Sex being excluded. *Agis* in his Life-time had denied *Leotychides* to be [*b*] Legitimate, but being better advis'd at his Death, declar'd him to be his Son: which gave encouragement to *Leotychides*, after the deceaſe of *Agis*, to diſpute the Empire with his Uncle *Ageſilaus*; but by the Prevalency of *Lyſander*, a Turbulent and Potent Man in thoſe times, *Leotychides* was rejected, and *Ageſilaus* preferred.

No ſooner was he inveſted in the Kingdom, but being of an active Spirit, he perſwades the *Lacedæmonians* to make an Invaſion upon *Aſia*, and to Commence War againſt that King in his own Territories; holding it a Maxim of good Policy,

licy, rather to remove a War into an Enemy's Country, than to entertain it at home. Beſides, the noiſe of [c] *Artaxerxes* his Arms had already reach'd *Greece*; to invade which, he had Equip'd a well-furniſht Fleet, and ſet a Potent Land-Army on foot, and therefore to prevent him, *Ageſilaus*, as ſoon as he had got his Forces in a readineſs, enters *Aſia* with ſuch an incredible Expedition, that his unexpected preſence anticipated the Fame of his coming: and that Kings Lieutenants found him ſet down in the midſt of their Country before they had any notice of his deſign, to their great aſtoniſhment and confuſion, they not being in a poſture to make any defence. The news of ſo unexpected a Gueſt could not long be conceal'd from the ears of *Tiſſaphernes*, *Artaxerxes*'s Viceroy there, who upon the firſt Advertiſement of it, politickly deſires a Truce with the *Spartans*, under pretence of his friendly Interpoſition, to accommodate matters amicably and fairly betwixt both parties, but really for nothing elſe, but to gain time to levy Forces. However it was, a Truce was agreed upon for three months: the two Generals binding themſelves with a ſolemn Oath to obſerve it. And accordingly none was ever more punctually obſerv'd by *Ageſilaus*, and leſs by

by *Tiſſaphernes*, who improv'd the time in making prepatation for War. This the generous *Spartan* knew very well; but yet could not be induc'd to violate his Oath, and make a breach, ſaying, 'That he ſhould be the greateſt Gainer 'at length, for *Tiſſaphernes* by his Perju-'ry muſt neceſſarily expoſe himſelf and 'his undertakings to the juſt indignation 'of the Gods and Men: But that he by 'his Religious obſervance ſhould gain 'both Reputation and Strength to his 'Party; ſince the Gods are always more 'propitious to, and all wiſe Men will 'the rather favour and wiſh well to thoſe, 'who put a value upon what they ſay, 'and are true to the Truſt which is re-'pos'd in them.

The Truce expir'd, *Tiſſaphernes* draws down his Forces into *Caria*, partly to ſecure his own Poſſeſſions there, and becauſe that Country being of all the Richeſt, would in all probability be the object of the Enemies firſt Attempt. But he was miſtaken in his conjecture, for *Ageſilaus* ſuddenly wheels about into [*a*] *Phrygia*, which he over-ran with ſuch celerity, that he had depopulated the whole Country before *Tiſſaphernes* had advanc'd one foot forward to its relief.

Having here gratified his Soldiers with

with the Spoils of the place, he brought them back to their Winter-Quarters at *Epheſus*, where he ſet the *Artiſans* on work to prepare and furniſh him with all ſorts of Arms; and thoſe of his Soldiers who were induſtrious to fit and Accoutre themſelves therewith, he (for the encouragement of others) oblig'd with ſome ſpecial Reward or Mark of his Favour; as likewiſe every one who in their daily Military Exerciſes particularly Signaliz'd himſelf above the reſt; by which means he effected, that in a few days he had the beſt appointed, and the beſt Diſciplin'd Army in the World. When it was time to leave his Winter-Quarters, he publickly Proclaim'd what way he really deſign'd to direct his courſe; having learn'd by good Experience, that the Incredulous *Aſian* would never believe the proteſts of his Enemy, but would certainly ſend his Forces to Guard thoſe Provinces which were moſt diſtant from that which he declar'd himſelf ready to invade. Accordingly it prov'd; for *Ageſilaus* manifeſting his deſign to make an inroad into [e] *Sardis*, *Tiſſaphernes* (whoſe own fault it was thus to be deceived the ſecond time) again advances into *Caria* to defend it, but by the event diſcovering his error, he returns with all ſpeed to the aſſiſtance of *Sardis*,

Sardis, but it was almoſt too late; for by that time he had reach'd the place, the Active *Ageſilaus* had poſted himſelf in all the moſt important places of the Country, and had loaded himſelf with the Spoils of it. The *Aſians* were much ſtronger in Horſe, and therefore the wary *Spartans* declin'd all opportunities of engaging in open Campaign, and made choice of places, the difficulty of which rendred the Enemies Horſe of little or no advantage to them; by which policy he always remain'd abſolute Conqueror in *Aſia*, tho much inferior in Power; ballancing the inequality of Number with the Excellency of his Conduct.

But whilſt he was conſulting to extend his Victories into the very bowels of *Perſia*, and to make the *Sultan* himſelf ſenſible of the heavy ſtroke of his Arms, he receives an Expreſs from the *Ephori* of *Sparta*, commanding his ſpeedy return thither; the *Athenians* and *Bœotians* having denounced open War againſt that State. And here we have a fair opportunity of diſcovering the excellent Piety as well as Fortitude of *Ageſilaus*, who when he was at the Head of a Victorious Army, and might in deſpight of the World have put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the whole Empire of *Perſia*, did yet notwithſtanding

withſtanding ſo advantageous a proſpect, ſubmit to the Commands of the abſent Magiſtrates with ſo much readineſs and condeſcention, as if he had wore the character of a private Commoner in *Sparta*, rather than of ſo great a Prince. A rare example, worthy of the beſt of Emperors! *Ageſilaus*, the Incomparable *Ageſilaus*! to the ſcorn and Contempt of the Ambitious World, chuſes rather to be Maſter of a good Reputation, than of the moſt flouriſhing Empire; rather to Command the Affections of his Country, than to be Lord of *Aſia*. Accordingly he is reſolv'd, and in purſuance of this ſo generous a reſolution, uſes ſuch Expedition, that he paſſes the *Helleſpont* with his whole Army in thirty days, which *Xerxes* could not accompliſh under a whole year. But when he came near to *Poloponneſe*; he found his way block'd up at [f] *Coronea* by the *Athenians*, *Bœotians*, [g] and their Confederates, who had poſted themſelves there to impede him in his paſſage: But in vain did they contend againſt him who had Fortune at his Command; for at the firſt encounter he gave them a total rout. The Victory was great, but yet the praiſe of it was further enhanſed by his Religious Clemency; for when ſome of the Enemy eſcap'd from the Battel, had

had taken ſanctuary in (*b*) *Minerva's* Temple, and he was ak'd, what he would be pleas'd to determine conerning them, he ſtrictly forbid any violence to be offer'd to them; tho he might juſtly have ſacrific'd them as proper Victims to his deep Reſentments, and to that Noble blood which he Himſelf had expended in the Quarrel, having receiv'd ſome conſiderable wounds in the Fight. But his Religous reſpect towards the Sacred Temples did not only evidence it ſelf in *Greece*, but in *Aſia* too, where he expreſs'd the like concern to preſerve the Sacred Altar, and the Images of the Gods from violence and Prophanation; and he was often obſerv'd to ſay; "That in 'his opinion he was equally Sacrilegious 'who offer'd violence to the Altar or the 'Votary at the Altar, and that in effect 'he was the ſame Criminal who was an 'Enemy to the Sacred place, or the Re-'ligion of the place.

After this, *Corinth* was the chief Seat of Action, from whence this took the Denomination of the *Corinthian* War. Here albeit in one Engagement he had left 10000 of his Enemies breathleſs upon the ground, and had ſo far weakned the Enemies Forces that in all Mens opinion they were perfectly broken, and incapacitated ever to Rally again; yet the

Generous *Ageſilaus*, no leſs a Maſter of himſelf than the Enemy, was ſo far from entertaining himſelf with any Inſolent Conceits of his own Atchievements, that with a noble Compaſſion he deplored the unhappy State of *Greece*, which through its own diviſions ſhould loſe the Lives of ſo many brave Men; whoſe Valour, if it had been plac'd on a right level, and directed accordingly, would inevitably have prov'd the Ruin of *Perſia*. After this, having pent up the Enemy within the Walls of *Corinth*, he was advis'd to lay cloſe Siege to that place; but Generouſly reply'd, 'That it was beneath the Pru-'dence of his Conduct ſo to do; for altho 'he knew very well how to reduce a Cri-'minal to a ſenſe of his Duty, yet he did 'not think the Cities of *Greece* proper ob-'jects of his Valour; for whilſt *Greece* fought 'againſt *Greece*, and deſtroy'd its own 'Members, whoſe concern againſt the 'Common Enemy the *Barbarian*, was one 'and the ſame, every Member, which by 'this means was Rent and Torn off, was 'loſt to the whole body, whoſe Strength 'was thereby impair'd, and it Incapa-'citated to Reſiſt the Attempts of the Ene-'my, who would improve the Advan-'tage of their Diviſions to their Con-'fuſion.

In the mean time happen'd that unfortu-

nate

nate Battel at *Leuctra*, fatal to the *Lacedæmonians*, whither *Ageſilaus* as if he had been Conſcious of the Event, could not by any Art be perſwaded to go; but afterwards, when *Epaminondas* had Inveſted the City *Sparta*(*i*) it being at that time naked, and not defended with any Wall; *Ageſilaus* behav'd himſelf with ſo much Gallantry and Reſolution, that in all Mens opinion, if *Sparta* had wanted (her *Ageſilaus*, ſhe had not long been *Sparta*. One remarkable inſtance there was, wherein his expedite and ſeaſonable Counſel diſcover'd it ſelf to the advantage of all. For when ſome raſh young Men, terrified with the report of the *Thebans* approach, had taken up a Reſolution to paſs over to them, and in order thereto had poſſeſs'd themſelves of a Poſt without the City, *Ageſilaus* foreſeeing the ill conſequence and example of it, if any of his Men ſhould be known to go over to the Enemy, "He 'cunningly joyns himſelf with them, com-'mends their choice of that place where 'they were Poſted, and tells them, that 'he himſelf had deſign'd the ſame before, 'and therefore that he would be their Lea-'der, and the Companion of their For-'tunes. They, caught with this Stratagem, preſently return'd to their Allegiance, and having ſome of *Ageſilaus* his

Followers joyn'd with them, lay aſide all thoughts of Surrendring the place; for their numbers being augmented with Men of good Experience and Conduct, they durſt not embrace any Treacherous deſign, and deſiſted the more willingly becauſe they thought that their Treaſon was not yet diſcover'd.

After the Battel of *Leuctra*, *Sparta* could never recover it ſelf, or regain its priſtine Majeſty and power, yet *Ageſilaus* bravely bore up under all Fortunes, and never wanted a helping-hand to Sublevate the ſinking State. Particularly, when the *Lacedæmonians* were one time in great want for Money, he by Protecting thoſe who had been defective in their Duty, and had incurr'd the cenſure of the Laws, obtain'd great ſums of Money from them, all which he frankly beſtow'd upon the Public. And this was more ſignally remarkable in him, that of all the Rich Preſents which were given him by Kings, Noble Perſons or Cities which he had oblig'd, he never converted any to his own private uſe; neither did he ever deviate from the laudable Frugality and Thrift of the *Spartans*; his Diet was homely, his Apparel plain, his Lodging not adorn'd with the novel Bravery of the Times, but the ſame with that of *Euryſthenes* the Founder of his Family; into

into which, if you ſhould enter, you would find no proviſion for Luſt, none for Luxury; but Patience was the Ornament of it, Abſtinence its beſt Furniture; with theſe it abounded, but in other things it was not diſtinguiſhed from the Houſe of a poor Man or private Perſon.

But Nature was not more indulgent to this Great Perſon in beſtowing upon him ſo many Excellent Qualities of Mind, than She was niggardly in diſpenſing the Graces of his Body; for he was low of Stature, and lame of one Foot; which latter defect made him appear ſomething deform'd; and ſtrangers that beheld his face and the outward frame of his Body, ſlighted and contemned him; but thoſe that were acquainted with the inward Accompliſhments of his Mind, could never admire him enough. According to his former cuſtom, when he was eighty years old, and was come into *Egypt* as Auxiliary to (*k*) *Thacus*, he lay down to ſleep upon the ſhore amongſt his Followers, without any Roof above him but that of Heaven, or Bed under him but Earth, which he cover'd with Straw, a Beaſts Skin being his Coverlet. In the ſame manner lay all his Companions round him, in mean, and very contemptible Habit, and which was ſo far from ſignifying the Perſon of a King to be

amongſt them, that it rather gave cauſe to ſuſpect him to be ſome deſpicable mean Perſon. When the noiſe of his coming was bruited abroad, and had reach'd the Ears of the *Perſian*, Meſſengers with Preſents were inſtantly ſent to him; tho when they came and enquir'd, which was *Ageſilaus*, they could ſcarce be induc'd to believe that he was one of thoſe that lay down in that neglected manner. But when after their Complements made, they had tender'd their Preſents to him, he only made choice of ſome Veal-fleſh, and other Victuals for preſent uſe, and had diſtributed amongſt his Servants the ſweet Oyntments, the Coronets, with the more curious ſare, and reſerved nothing for himſelf, but ſent back all the reſt again. The *Barbarians* then look'd upon him with greater contempt then before, imputing it to his ignorance, that he made choice of thoſe leſs valuable things. Afterwards when he left *Egypt*, he was Preſented by King (*l*) *Nectanabes* with 220 Talents, all which he liberally diſtributed amongſt his Followers the *Lacedæmonians*; coming from thence into a Haven betwixt *Cyrene* and *Egypt*, commonly known by the name of [*m*] *Menelaus* his Haven, he unhappily fell ſick of a fatal Diſeaſe, of which he [*n*] dy'd. His Friends, in order to convey his dead Body, in defect

of

of Honey, anointed it with Wax, and carried it home to *Sparta*.

[*a*] *The greateſt part of the executive Power was devolv'd upon the* Ephori, *only the Power of Peace and War, and impoſing of Ceremonies in Religion, remaining in the King*, Ari Pol. l. 3. *c.* 10. [*b*] *For* Leotychides *was ſuppoſ'd to be baſtard to* Alcibiades, *who when* Agis *was abſent in the Wars. was obſerv'd to entertain too ſecret a Correſpondence with the Queen* Timea, *which being made known to* Agis, *he look'd upon her Iſſue as ſpurious.* Plutarch vit. Alcib Atheneus. [*c*] *At that time King of* Perſia. [*d*] Front l. 1. *c.* 8. *ſpeaking of this Expedition, inſtead of* Phrygia *reads* Lydia, *but the miſtake is not great; for* Phrygia, *which is a Province in* Aſia *Minor, has* Caria, Lydia, Myſia *and* Bithynia *bordering ſo nearly upon it, that as* Strabo *ſays, they are not eaſily diſtinguiſhed, but are often promiſcuouſly taken one for another.* [*e*] *The Royal City of* Lydia, Hor. Ep. 11. lib. 1. Quid concinna Samos? quid Creſi Regia Sardis ? [*f*] *A City in* Bœotia. [*g*] *The* Thebans Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Eubeans, *and* Locrians, as Xenophon *gives the account.* [*b*] *which was at* Itoma, *a City in* Theſſaly, *ſo call-*

ed ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰτάνου θυγατρὸς ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Ἰτωνία Ἀθηνᾶ, *says* Stephanus *from* Iton. [*i*] Thucydides *in his Proem says, that the Cities of* Greece *had no walls, but afterwards the* Spartan *Tyrants, distrusting the streugth of their Arms, encompass'd* Sparta *with a strong Wall.* Justin. lib. 14. [*k*] Thacus *having been constituted by the King of* Persia *chief Commander of all his Forces in* Egypt, *had treacherously caused* Egypt *and the Forces under his Command to revolt from the* Persian, *and made himself King, which gave occasion to the World to reprehend* Agesilaus *for this action, it being thought unworthy of so great a Man, and a* Grecian *too, for lucre sake to give assistance to so base a Rebel.* Plutarch. [*l*] Diodorus *affirms this King* Nectanabes *to be* Tachus *himself, who thus rewarded him for confirming him in his Kingdom; but* Plutarch *will have him to be Cousin to* Tachus, *who being during these Commotions declared King, was grateful to* Agesilaus *for the good service he had done him.* [*m*] Strabo *mentions this Port of* Menelaus, *so called from* Menelaus *the Grecian, who coming into Æthiopia, and from thence Sailing into* Africa, *came to Land with his Ships in the Coasts about* Ardania, *which from thence forwards took his name.* [*n*] *After he had liv'd* 84 *years, and reigned* 41. Plutarch.

THE

THE LIFE OF *EUMENES.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Ch. Alleſtree*, M. A. of *Ch. Ch.* Coll. *Oxon.*

EUMENES was a Native of *Cardia*; and ſo eminent for Perſonal Courage, that had his Fortune or Succeſs been in any degree equal to it, he had not, 'tis true, been really Greater than he was (becauſe we meaſure the Greatneſs of an Hero by his inward Virtue, and not by any outward circum-

circumſtances of Fortune) but ſtill he had been more Honourable and Illuſtrious, and Fame had rendred him more conſiderable in the Eye of the World. It was his unhappineſs to be born in an Age wherein the *Macedonians* flouriſhed, and were at that heighth of Renown, as to eclipſe his Merit; neither was it any ſmall matter of Reproach and Detraction to him (who liv'd conſtantly amongſt them) to be ignominiouſly upbraided with the Appellation of a Forreigner, and a Man deſcended of a mean Stock; and yet he Himſelf was the Chief of the Family he ſprung from. So that, upon theſe reaſons, they envi'd him the Glory of Precedence; and yet were forc'd to be content and ſubmit to it: For he ſurpaſs'd them all, in the Qualifications of a States-man, in Care, Induſtry, and Patience, in Subtilty of Contrivance, and Quickneſs of Invention. Theſe Endowments recommended him early to the Acquaintance of King *Philip*; which in a very ſhort time he improv'd into a moſt intimate Familiarity and Friendſhip; for as young as he was, there appear'd ſuch a Genius, and Generous Spirit, as promis'd much future Greatneſs. So that the King conſtituted him his Secretary; which is an Employment of greater Reputation

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and Honour amongſt the *Grecians*, than it is with the *Romans*; for we juſtly eſteem Perſons of that character, as they really are, to be only Mercenary Scribes, and employed for gain. But, on the contrary, no Man was ever in *Greece* advanced to the Dignity of that Station, but ſuch as were born of honeſt Parents, were of approved Integrity, and had abilities fit for the Service; and the reaſon is, becauſe their Office gives them Acceſs to Princes, makes them neceſſarily acquainted with great Intreagues, and the ſecret Meaſures and Reſolutions of all their Councils. He enjoyed this Honour, and place in his Affection, during the laſt ſeven years of King *Philips* Reign, and (after his Death) was continued in the ſame Character under *Alexander* the Great, for thirteen more; and at laſt was preferred to Command that Wing of the Horſe which was call'd the *SOCIAL WING*, from the Confederacy of the Allies that conſtituted it. In ſhort, he was Privy-Councellor to both theſe Princes, and entruſted with the ſole management of their Buſineſs, and all matters of Importance.

When *Alexander* was dead at *Babylon*, his Provinces came to be diſtributed equally to the ſeveral Officers who enjoy'd his Favour; it was *Perdiccas*'s Fortune (ſince

(since *Craterus* and *Antipater*, tho more in esteem with *Alexander*, were absent at this Delegation; and *Hæphestion*, whom *Alexander* lov'd as passionately as himself, was dead also) to have the Command or Superintendency of the Whole lodged in his hands; and this was conjectur'd by the Ring that *Alexander* (when he lay speechless) took from his Finger and gave, as a peculiar instance of his kindness: intimating by this Pledg, that he nominated him Protector of the Empire, and entrusted the Government of his Dominions to his Conduct, whilst his Children were in their Minority, and remain'd under his Guardianship. In this Distribution of Provinces, the Government of *Cappadocia* fell to *Eumenes's* share, or rather was Assign'd to him; and the Title only of Lieutenant conferr'd upon him, the Country at that time being actually in possession of the Enemy. It was the policy of *Perdiccas* to make this Man his Friend, and gain him to his interest, which he endeavour'd to accomplish by all the endearments imaginable, because he knew him industrious in the Employment of War, and unalterably true to the Principle of his first Engagement; presuming with much reason and confidence, that if he could move him to

eſpouſe his cauſe, his ſervice would be more than ordinarily inſtrumental to bring about thoſe great affairs which he had then in hand; for he intended (that which almoſt all Men in Empire propoſe to themſelves) an Univerſal Monarchy, and to graſp all Power in his hands. Neither was he ſingle and alone in this deſign upon the Sovereignty of the World, for the ſame luſt of Power equally ſpread it ſelf, and run throw all the Governors of *Alexander*'s Provinces; and accordingly we find *Leonatus* affecting the Command of *Macedonia*, and Attempting to inveſt himſelf in the Government of that Province; and in order thereunto, plying *Eumenes* with the bait of Preferment, and propoſals of Honour to deſert *Perdiccas*, and make a ſtrict League and Alliance with him; and when his Arguments and Promiſes were ineffectual to corrupt his Honeſty, or ſeduce him from the Friendſhip he bore *Perdiccas*, he treacherouſly ſought his Death, and had certainly accompliſh'd it, but that *Eumenes* privately made his eſcape by night, and ſo avoided the danger.

In the mean time, whilſt theſe ambitious Deſigns were forming, there ſeem'd to be laid the Foundation of thoſe enſuing Wars, which (after *Alexanders* Death)

Death) rag'd even to the Excision of the several Parties in the Contest; and all of them (as one Man) join'd themselves in a Confederacy, to suppress *Perdiccas*, and prevent his growing Greatness. Now, tho *Eumenes* was sensible of the danger of his Friend, and knew that he was unable to stem the Tyde, or with his single Forces over-power that formidable and united Body of Men, that were raised against him, yet he would not desert him in extremity, but was more mindful of his Honour, than the consideration of his own safety; *Perdiccas* had put him in a place of Trust, and constituted him Governor of that part of *Asia*, which lies betwixt Mount *Taurus* and the *Hellespont*, and fixt him commodiously at that Post, for the conveniency of stopping the *Europæans*, and keeping them from falling in upon the Rear, whilst he in the mean time undertook an Expedition into *Egypt*, and design'd to encounter *Ptolemy*. And yet *Eumenes* was left in no good condition to Fight, for the Troops he had with him were not considerable either for Number or Courage, being for the most part raw, and unexperienc'd, ignorant of all Discipline, and rais'd hastily from the Refuse of the People; so that when *Craterus* and *Antipater* (Men of Renown

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and Terror in the Art of War) were said to have pass'd the *Hellespont*, and advancing towards him with an Army of old *Macedonian* Soldiers (where by the way I must tell you, that these *Macedonian* Soldiers were thought as terrible in the Trade of War, as the *Romans* are now with us; for those are ever counted the best Soldiers, that are levy'd from that Country which is the Seat of the Empire) *Eumenes* was confident, that if his Men should know the Power and Strength of the Enemy, and against whom they were drawn out to Fight, they would be so far from going chearfully upon the Expedition, that they would drop down dead with the news; It was his care therefore to preserve them in ignorance of his design, and to lead them through unknown and by-roads, where no certain or authentick Intelligence could possibly come to disabuse them; and to bear them in hand, that their Arms were to be employ'd against the *Barbarians*, to revenge the insolence of a sort of People, that had offer'd Affronts and acts of Hostility to their Country: acting therefore by these measures of secresy, he had Marshall'd and dispos'd his Army in the best Array in the World for the Engagement; and had quite ended the Battel, before ever the Soldiers knew

knew their Adverſaries, or againſt whom they drew their Swords; and yet it is to be confeſs'd, that this overthrow is to be aſcribed to another reaſon, *viz.* to the advantageous choice he made of the ground, wherein his Horſe alone (which was the ſtrength of his Army) might bear the Onſet and Attacque of the Enemy; and He not obliged to expoſe his Infantry to the Shock, which was very inconſiderable.

In this ſmart Conflict, which laſted almoſt till night, *Craterus* the General, and *Neoptolemus*, who had the ſecond place of Command in the Field, were both ſlain: *Eumenes* engaged Perſonally in the Fight with *Neoptolemus*; and ſo violent was their hatred and animoſity to each other, that when their Grapling had diſlodg'd the Riders from their Horſes, and thrown them both to the Ground, they could not be diſengag'd from their hold, or parted by any thing but the death of one of the Combatants, ſo that they ſeem to have bore an internal malice, and to have wag'd War principally in their Minds, and made their Bodies only ſeconds and Inſtruments in the Quarrel. In this Conflict *Eumenes* receiv'd ſome ſmall wounds, but they were not ſo dangerous as to induce him, for his Cure, to ſound a Re-

treat,

treat and leave the Field, but rather animated him to a freſh Purſuit, and a more vigorous Slaughter of the Enemy. So that when he had entirely routed the Horſe, ſlain *Craterus*, and taken a vaſt number of Priſoners (of the beſt Rank and Quality in the Army) the Foot ſeeing themſelves deſtitute of Succour, and lodg'd in ſuch narrow places, where 'twas impoſſible for them to make their eſcape with ſafety ſurrender'd themſelves upon Diſcretion, and pray'd for Quarter. They no ſooner obtain'd this Grant of their Lives from *Eumenes*, but treacherouſly, upon the firſt opportunity broke their Faith, and (contrary to the Engagement of Captives) revolted with as much ſpeed as they were able to the Enemies Camp, and took part with *Antipater*. However *Eumenes* generouſly labour'd to recover *Craterus* from his Wounds, who was brought from the Field with ſome faint breathings and ſigns of Life, to his Tent, and when he ſaw that 'twas impoſſible for Art to cure him, out of deference to the Character he bore, and to the Friendſhip that was once betwixt them (for they were intimate companions in *Alexander*'s Lifetime), he celebrated his Obſequies with great Pomp, and ſent his Aſhes to his Wife and Children into *Macedon*.

Whilſt theſe great Actions were Atchiev'd about the *Helleſpont*, *Perdiccas* was treacherouſly kill'd in an Engagement upon the River *Nile*, by *Seleucus* and *Antigonus*; ſo that the whole Adminiſtration of Affairs devolv'd upon *Antipater*. Here thoſe who had deſerted the Army, by a Council of War were proclaim'd Traitors, and (tho abſent) condemn'd to loſe their Heads. Amongſt the number of thoſe who lay under this hard Sentence, *Eumenes* was chief: who was really diſturb'd at the Injuſtice of his Fate, but not to that degree as to make him deſpond, or deſiſt from the proſecution of the War. And yet this Proſcription, tho it might ſeem inſignificant to affect a Man that was really in Arms; yet it had this effect, as to rebate the Greatneſs of that Courage which it was unable utterly to overthrow. *Antigonus*, (who was provided with good ſtore both of Ammunition and Men) in purſuance to this Decree follow'd *Eumenes* in the Rear, and gave ſome diſturbances to his Troops by ſmall Skirmiſhes on the Road; but was never able to force him to a pitcht Battel, only in ſuch narrow places, where a ſmall Party was ſufficient to engage the Front of his whole Army. And yet at laſt, when he was not to be undermin'd by Policy

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or Prudence, he was ſupplanted and almoſt ruin'd by the Treachery of a Multitude; but yet, even here he extricated himſelf out of this difficulty: and, with the loſs of ſome of his Men, retir'd ſafe to a Citadel in *Phrygia*, call'd *Nora*; wherein he was ſo cloſe beſieg'd by *Antigonus*, and abridg'd of room to Air his Horſes in, that he fear'd their diſſuetude from Exerciſe would ſpeedily breed a Murrain, and cauſe a deſtruction amongſt them; ſo that to prevent this inconvenience, he made uſe of an expedient, whereby they might in the ſame Stall procure a better Appetite to their Fodder, and yet not want the benefit of Riding. He devis'd this way; and ty'd their Heads ſo high to the Rack with Halters, that they could by no means touch the Earth with their forefeeet; and then his Grooms, with the Diſcipline of the Whip, laying on behind, oblig'd them to leap and kick backwards, to revenge the ſtroke. This motion, or agitation of Body, caus'd as much Sweating as if they had been actually Breath'd in a Courſe. So that (what was the moſt wonderful thing of all) by this Management the Horſes were brought from the Caſtle, after many Months Siege, as clean and in as good liking as if they had been air'd every day in the Fields. When he was thus block'd up, as

oft as he thought convenient, he made Incurſions into the Enemy's Camp, and either burnt or demoliſh'd the Fortifications and Entrenchments of *Aatigonus*; but ſtill he kept himſelf cloſe in his Garriſon during the Winter ſeaſon, becauſe he could not in the Field have the advantage of a Caſtle for his defence and ſhelter; but as ſoon as the Spring approacht, under the pretence of yeilding the place, and making Conditions of Peace, he impos'd upon *Antigonus*'s Officers (who had the management of the Treaty) and deliver'd himſelf and his Soldiers both from the ſtraitneſs and danger of the Siege.

To him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander*, made her application, and addreſst from *Epirus* (where ſhe then dwelt) Letters to him into *Aſia*, to importune his Aid, and deſire his Aſſiſtance to recover *Macedon*, and inveſt her in the poſſeſſion of that Empire. *Eumenes*, in his Anſwer, advis'd her to deſiſt from her Pretenſions, or at leaſt to wait the time, when the Son of *Alexander* ſhould aſſume the Government; but if her Ambition ſhould hurry her, againſt this Advice, to invade *Macedon*, by all means ſhe ought to forget old Injuries, and not exerciſe any acts of Cruelty againſt her Subjects. She follow'd none of his Counſel; for ſhe did go into *Macedonia*, and Reign'd there

there with all the Tyranny and Barbarity imaginable; ſo that her Government becoming generally odious, ſhe was forc't to write again to *Eumenes*, and beſeech him not to ſuffer the inveterate Enemies of Her Houſe to extirpate the very Race and Memory of *Philip*, but to bring ſpeedy Relief to the poor Remains and Poſterity of *Alexander*; which Requeſt of her's, if it were ſo reaſonable as to be clos'd with, ſhe further entreated him, to raiſe what Forces he could, and bring to her Aſſiſtance; and that he might the more readily comply with this motion, for his encouragement ſhe had already oblig'd all her Officers (who had not yet ſhoke off their Allegiance) to obey him, and ſubmit themſelves to be regulated by his Orders. *Eumenes* was ſo exalted with the Honour of his Employment, and the Greatneſs of the Character he was put into, that he choſe rather to embrace Death (if the Gods would have it ſo) in a generous Return of Service to his great Benefactor, than to live ignominiouſly, and with ſecurity, under the brand and appellation of Ingratitude.

Accordingly he makes a new levy of Men, and prepares himſelf for a War againſt *Antigonus*; Now there were at that time ſeveral of the *Macedonian* Nobility with him, amongſt them *Peuceſtes*, who

was of the Bed-Chamber to *Alexander*; and had the Government of *Perſia* conferr'd upon him; and *Antigones*, who Commanded the *Macedonian Phalanx*; *Eumenes* thought it was impoſſible to decline envy, or prevent diſguſt, if He, who was a Sranger, ſhould arrogate the Command, and prefer himſelf to be General in the Army, when there was ſo vaſt a concourſe and appearence of *Macedonan* Noblemen with him; and yet being unwilling to be laid aſide from the Employment, he takes a middle way to avoid the danger; he erects a Pavilion in the Camp, and calls it by the name of *Alexander's* Tent; and there orders all the Royal Furniture of a Golden Throne, a Scepter, and a Diadem, to be plac't, where the Officers met conſtantly to treat of public Affairs, and the negotiation of War; being of opinion, that by this means he ſhould not be opreſs't with envy, if under the pretence and umbrage of *Alexander's* name, he carry'd on the War: which point he accompliſhed according to his deſign: for when the principal Officers met and concerted the meaſures ſeemingly at the Royal Pavilion, and not at *Eumenes* his Tent, his Superiority in a manner was conceal'd, and yet in effect he manag'd the whole Buſineſs of the Conſult.

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When the point of Precedency was in this manner accomodated, *Eumenes* met *Antigonus*, and had an encounter with him in *Parætacis*: not in a form al pitch Battel, where the whole Army was ent gaged, but in ſmall skirmiſh es by Parties-where *Antigonus* was conſtantly worſted,, and obliged to retire to his Winter-quarters in *Media*: He in the mean time lodg'd his Forces in the Country of *Perſia*, not as if he had choſe the place for any advantage to himſelf, but the obſtinacy of his Souldiers obliged him to it; for that Wing of his Army (with which *Alexander* overrun *Aſia*, and Conquered *Perſia*) were ſo inſolent with the ſenſe of their former Victories, and the Glory they Atchiev'd there, that they thought it their Buſineſs to Command and not Follow their Leaders. Which really is the true character of our *Veteranes*: and there is this danger in employing either of them, for fear their unruline ſs and untractable Spirit ſhould have this effect of deſtroying all before 'em, and their pride turn as prejudicial to their own Party, as their Valour is fatal to the Enemy; and if any one will take the pains to examine and compare the Actions of both, he muſt neceſſarily find a great party and reſemblance betwixt them, and no other difference but in point of time. But to return from this

digreſſion ; *Eumenes* Quarter'd his Men in Poſts, not convenient for the Buſineſs of War, but accomodate to the Luxury of his Souldiers, and for this end they lay ſcatter'd in the Country, in no order at all, but at a great diſtance from each other. *Antigonus* was ſenſible of the diſorder they were in, and withall conſcious of his inability to attack them with ſucceſs, if they were form'd into a Body, or put in a poſture to receive him, and therefore chang'd his meaſures of aſſaulting them openly, and upon warning took new reſolutions of doing it by ſurpriſe. There were two ways leading from his Winter-Quarters in *Media*, to his Enemies Camp on the other ſide, the one of 'em was ſhort, exactly in a line, and lay croſs the Country, where there was nothing but Deſart and uninhabitable places, by reaſon of draught, and the penury of water, and was only ten eaſy daies journey at the moſt; The other, which was the more beaten Tract, went round about in a circumference, and was much the longer paſſage, but ſtill had all the conveniences and accommodations of Travel. He foreſaw, that if he undertook to paſs in the more publick Road, the Enemy muſt neceſſarily be upon their Guard, and have intelligence of his March, before he had accompliſh'd the

third

third part of his journey; but if he moved with his Army, in a ſtraight line, thro the Deſart part of the Country, he might have hopes to oppreſs 'em unawares, and unprovided for his coming; upon this reſolution, he ordered ſeveral Pitchers and Veſſels of water to be prepared, and a great deal of Provinder to be in readineſs, to ſupply the defect of the Country; and then took care for his Souldiers, that there ſhould be Bread and Victuals enough bak'd, to ſerve for ten daies; and this he did, becauſe he would not be put to the neceſſity of making fires upon every occaſion of Eating, for fear the Enemy ſhould diſcover his approach at a diſtance, and he ſhould have the ſecret of his journey betray'd.

In this Equipage, he ſets forward, and begins the Compaign; who notwithſtanding this care, had not travell'd above half the way, but from the ſmoak in his Tents, and the duſt which his Army rais'd, *Eumenes* had great reaſon to ſuſpect that the Enemy was nigh. A Council of War is therefore preſently call'd, to conſult what was fitting to be done in this Exigence: It was the Judgement of moſt that were preſent, that their Troops could not be imbodied or collected, ſo ſoon as *Antigonus*, with the ſwiftneſs of his March, would be upon them;

them; at this debate (when almoſt the whole Council were at a loſs, and deſpair'd of any Expedient of ſafety) *Eumenes* aſſured the Board, *That if they would uſe Diligence and obey Orders, which hitherto they abſolutely refus'd, he would even yet bring things to a happy Iſſue; for whereas the Enemy might eaſily approach them in five daies time, he would order matters ſo, that he ſhould be retarded full as long, and be put back ten; wherefore,* ſaies he, *let every Officer go his Round, and collect the Souldiers that belong to his Company, and that lye ſcatter'd and diſpers'd at large in the Country*: Now this was the project that he us'd, to put a ſtop to *Antigonus* his motion, and divert his courſe; He Commanded a Party of Men to lodge themſelves at the foot of the Mountains, where the Enemy was to paſs, and at the beginning of the Night, to make large fires, and extend them very wide in the Front, but to diminiſh the number, and make them leſs in the ſecond Row, and ſo proportionably to render them more conſiderably ſmall in the third and hindmoſt Flank, that ſo, by this reſemblance and ſhew of a Camp, the Enemy might be induc'd to think his deſign was diſcover'd, that they were alarm'd at his approach, and moved their Tents, in order to meet him in the

the Road and give him Battel in the Deſart; This task the Officers were to renew every night; who according to their inſtructions perform'd their charge; *Antigonus* by this piece of ſubtility was deluded; who, as ſoon as it was dark, obſerv'd the fires, and fell into a Belief, that theſe were really the Tents of his Enemies, and that the whole Army was Rendezvous'd and Encamp'd there to Fight them; ſo that he chang'd his reſolution, and ſince he ſaw himſelf defeated of his deſign, and could not poſſibly ſurpriſe them in diſorder, he turn'd his Courſe, and took the longer paſſage, which lay round about the Hills in a fruitful Soil, and tarry'd a day or two in the Country, to eaſe and refreſh his Souldiers (that were tyr'd with the Fatigue) and to give reſt to his Horſes; that after ſuch a Reſpit and Recruit, both Man and Beaſt might be in a better condition to oppoſe the Enemy, and more vigorouſly maintain the Fight. By this ſtratagem *Eumenes* overreach't the policy of the General, and prevented the ſuddainneſs of his Attaque; and yet it was without any real advantage to himſelf in the end; for ſuch was the envy of his Officers that maligned his Glory, and ſo great was the perfidiouſneſs of the *Veterane* Souldiers,

Souldiers, that tho in a brave Engagement (when they had put things to a puſh) they returned Conqueror from the Feild, and gain'd ſignal Trophies of Victory, yet they deliver'd their General Priſoner, and in Chains, to *Antigonus*; and this Treachery they acted, after they had thrice Religiouſly ſworn to defend him with their Lives and Fortunes, and never to deſert his Cauſe; but ſo predominant was their envy above the conſideration of their Oaths, or the obligation of their Fidelity, that they choſe rather to violate their Faith, than not turn Inſtruments of his Ruin and betray him. *Antigonus* had certainly ſpar'd his Life (tho he was his moſt mortal and invetrate Enemy in the World) if his Council could have bin induc'd to have given way to it; becauſe he knew, that no Man Living could be more ſerviceable to him in the management of the Buſineſs of War, which he had then in hand, and ſaw a neceſſity of continuing it; for both *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Ptolemy*, (who were all Men of Power and Strength) were ready to oppreſs his Grandeur, and contend with him for Soveraignty and the prize of Empire; But thoſe who were of *Antigonus* his Council, would not ſuffer ſuch a failure in

in Politicks, as to be willing to have his Life preſerv'd, whoſe promotion in a little time would certainly ſupplant their Eſteem, and render them inconſiderable in the Army; and beſides, *Antigonus* himſelf was ſo enrag'd againſt him, for the Outrages he had done, and the havock that was made in the Army, that there was no hopes of his reconciliation, or pacifying his Anger, unleſs he had an aſſurance of a full compenſation by future Services in War.

When he was therefore committed to Cuſtody, and the Governor of the Priſon ask'd *Antigonus*, in what manner he would have him kept, *With the ſame care*, ſaies he, *as you would keep a wild Lyon, or the fierceſt Elephant*, under the ſtricteſt Guard: For he had not yet determin'd with himſelf, whether he would preſerve his Life or no; Now there came allſorts of People to viſit *Eumenes* in his misfortune; ſome, out of hatred, to glut their eyes with the ſight, and triumph over him in Affliction; Others, upon the account of Friendſhip, that formerly had bin betwixt them, went to comfort him in his Adverſity, and pay their Complement of Condolence to him; but the greateſt number came out of Curioſity to contemplate his form, and to know the ſhape and figure of the Man,

Man, to be able to remember and talk to their Acquaintance that they had ſeen the perſon, whom ſo long and ſo juſtly they had ſtood in dread of, and in whoſe deſtruction all their hopes of Victory and Peace were placed. *Eumenes* (whoſe Spirit was troubled more at the impertinence of the Viſits, than at the grief of his Confinement) told *Onomarchus*, one day in Company, when he had been long in Priſon, *That he wondred he had been kept three days without Death or Releaſement; that it was not ſuitable to the methods of Prudence to uſe a Captive ſo, but that* Antigonus *ought either to Execute him preſently, or diſmiſs him ſafe, loaded with apprehenſions of Gratitude to his Friends.* *Onomarchus*, ſtartled at the boldneſs of this Diſcourſe, *What?* ſays he, *If you have really this Courage and Bravery which you pretend, why did not you chuſe rather to dye Honourably in the Field, than fall ignominiouſly into the hands of your Enemy? Oh! would to God,* ſays Eumenes, *this had been in my Power or choice; but this could not poſſibly be my Fate, for I never in all my lifetime had the Glory to encounter a braver Man than my ſelf, and never conteſted the point of Valour with any Hero yet, but forced him to yield, and own me the Conqueror; and now tho I am baſely in your*

Power

Power, yet my ignominy is to be aſcribed to the Treachery of my friends, and not to the Proweſs of my Adverſary. Neither was any thing of this Diſcourſe, tho it ſeem'd a Rant, falſe; for he had both a Majeſty in his preſence, that ſtruck an awe and terror into the Beholder, and ſuch a Gigantick firmneſs in his Make and Limbs, as ſeem'd to be compos'd only for Work and Labour, and yet there was ſuch a Symmetry and proportion of parts, as rendred him both Auguſt and Comely.

Antigonus durſt not haſtily and alone determine of this Mans Fate, but left his caſe to the Conſideration and Wiſdom of his Council: *Here many of the Board ſtood aſtoniſh'd at the neglect of Juſtice, and wondred that Execution was not preſently done upon an Enemy, who for many years had laid waſte and ravaged their Country, ſlain the chief of their Commanders, and put ſuch a Terror and Conſternation amongſt the Reſt, that they had been brought even to extremity and deſpair; and if the ſenſe of theſe injuries is not ſufficient to juſtifie or provoke his Ruin, yet let the danger of his Perſon weigh ſomething towards his Death: As long as he is in being, there can be no ſecurity for our preſervation, but we ſhall be conſtantly afraid, leſt he ſhould be violently releaſed from his Priſon*

ſon to head a Mutiny or Sedition in the Camp; but at his Death theſe dangers ceaſe, and there can be no apprehenſions of Diſturbance to be raiſed from his Aſhes, but however, purſued they, *if* Antigonus *was inclined to give him Life, they humbly entreated to know, how he would new model his Council, or where he would find Officers to have place there; For with* Eumenes *none of the old Commanders would either correſpond, or join Intereſts, or be at the ſame Board together.* Tho the Sentiments of the Council were in this manner made known, yet *Antigonus* takes ſeven days time to deliberate and pronounce his Doom; and then fearing an Inſurrection might be caus'd by the delay of Execution, he orders his Warders to be remov'd, his daily ſuſtenance to be withdrawn, and forbids all Mankind his preſence (for ſtill he would not offer violence to the Man, who once had been his Friend) that ſo he might periſh with Famine, without involving others in the guilt of his Blood; and yet *Eumenes* after three days languiſhment with hunger, when his Spirits were impair'd and ſunk, unknown and without order from *Antigonus*, was kill'd by his Keepers, to prevent the care of tending him, in following the Camp.

Thus *Eumenes* (who, as we told you before

before, at twenty years of Age, was receiv'd at Court with all poſſible demonſtration of kindneſs, who for the ſpace of ſeven years was a conſtant Favourite and Attendant to King *Philip*, and afterwards was admitted to the ſame place in *Alexanders* eſteem, and enjoy'd it thirteen years more, to that degree, that in his time he was conſtituted Maſter of the Horſe in the *SOCIAL ARMY*, who alſo, after his Death, was Commander in Chief of the whole Army, and either repelled the violence of his encroaching Competitors, or ſlew them in the Fight, maintaining the Boundaries and juſt Limits of their Power); thus I ſay, died this Great Commander, in the forty-fifth year of his Age, and fell a Victim to the Treachery of his Soldiers, rather than overcome by the Proweſs of *Antigonus*. It is eaſy to judg what opinion the Officers (who ſtiled themſelves Kings after *Alexanders* Death) had of this Mans Merit, and Valour, by this ſingle inſtance of their Pride; ſince, in his Life-time, they durſt not aſſume that ſwelling Title, but were content with the Name and Appellation of *Præfects*; but after his Fall, took the Honour of the Name, and all the outward Ornaments that belong to Soveraignty and a Crown'd Head; neither did they perform

what was the pretence and Ground of War, *The Office of Guardianſhip, or ſeek to preſerve the Kingdoms for* Alexanders *Legitimate or Natural Iſſue:* But as ſoon as *Eumenes*, the only Defender and Aſſerter of their Cauſe, was gone, they ſhew'd themſelves openly in their own colours, and that their deſign was principally to raiſe and aggrandiſe themſelves. In this Conſpiracy againſt *Eumenes*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Caſſander*, were chiefly concern'd, and paſſionately ſought his Ruin; however *Antigonus* had this Honour in him, To give the Corps to be buried by his Relations. Who perform'd his Funeral-Rites in a Military Pomp, with the Attendance of the whole Army at his Hearſe; and after this Ceremony was over, tranſmitted his Urn into *Cappadocia*, to be Religiouſly kept by his Wife and Children, and preſerv'd there.

THE

THE LIFE OF *PHOCION.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Todd*, Fellow of *Univerſity* Coll. *Oxon.*

PHOCION the *Athenian*, tho he was many times [a] Chief Commander of the Forces of his Country, and One who bore the higeſt Offices in the City; yet is He much more known for Integriey and Agreeablrneſs of Life, than for any Military Exploits. Hence 'tis, there is no

account of These upon Record; but very much said of his exact way of Living, and other popular Qualities, which gave him the Sirname of *The Beneficent* [b]. He was never Rich, tho the several Places of Honour and Profit, freely given him by the People, might have plentifully fill'd his Coffers. When King *Philip* [c] presented him with a vast sum of Money, and by his Ambassadors press'd Him earnestly to accept it; advising Him withal, *That, tho He for his own part, might easily dispence with the want of it; yet he ought to be concern'd for the good of his Children, to whom it might be difficult in a low Ebb of Fortune, to maintain the Greatness of their Fathers Character:* He generously refused the Present, and told them, *If my Children prove such as my self, then that small parcel of Ground will keep them, that has advanc'd me to this: But if they degenerate, I should be loth their Luxury should be supported or encouraged at my Provision.*

When he had enjoy'd a continu'd series of Prosperity, till very near the eightieth year of his Age; in his latter daies he grew extreamly out of favour with his Fellow-Citizens. 'Twas laid to his Charge, That he conspir'd with *Demades* to deliver up the City to *Antipater*: And by his Advice, *Demosthenes*, and

and the reſt, whom they now look'd upon as Perſons that deſerved well of the Commonwealth, were by Decree of the Common-Council Baniſh'd. Nor was Male-Adminiſtration his only Crime; they accuſed him for violating the common Obligations of Friendſhip: For whereas he had been advanc'd, to thoſe Honours which he had by the Eloquence and Intereſt of *Demoſthenes*; and particularly when he took his part againſt *Cares*, [*d*] in a Capital Cauſe, had been defended by him, and clearly brought off in open Court; he did not only not defend *Demoſthenes*; but, as was ſaid, perfidiouſly betray'd him. But, the Crime that moſt of all caus'd his Ruin, was this; When the Government of the City was in his hands, and he had notice given by *Dercillus*, [*e*] that *Nicanor*, *Caſſanders* Lieutenaut General, had a deſign to ſurprize *Piræus*; and alſo was deſir'd to take ſpecial care, that the City ſhould not want Proviſion: He ſaid publickly in the hearing of the People, That there was no danger at all; and promis'd them that He would engage his Life for their ſecurity. Not long after, *Nicanor* took *Piræus*: And, when the People roſe in Arms to regain it (without the Poſſeſſion of that Fort *Athens* cannot long ſubſiſt) he not only neglected to Summon the reſt of the Citizens to

their Assistance, but refus'd to put himself in the head of those that were ready to make the Assault.

At that time, there were two Factions in *Athens*; One stood for the Liberties of the People, the Other (amongst whom were *Phocion* and *Demetrius Phalerus* [*f*]) asserted the Prerogatives of the Nobility: Both courted the Protection and Favour of the *Macedonians*; for the Chief of the Popular Party favour'd [*g*] *Polypercon*; the Nobless sided with *Cassander*. During these Heats, *Polypercon* drove *Cassander* out of *Macedonia*. By this Victory the People getting the upper hand, immediately condemn'd all the Heads of the opposite Faction, and banish'd them the City: Amongst whom were *Phocion* and *Demetrius Phalerus*. This done, they dispatch an Express to *Polypercon*, about the business, and desire him that he would confirm their [*b*] Decree: *Phocion* understanding this, went thither in Person; and as soon as he appear'd, order was given that he should plead his own Cause, in *form* indeed before King [*i*] *Philip*, but in *effect* before *Polypercon*, for He was at that time Protector of the Kingdom. One [*k*] *Agnonides* accus'd him, that he had betray'd *Piræus* to *Nicanor*, and thereupon by Order of Coun-

cil

cil he was committed to a Meſſenger, and remanded to *Athens*, that he might be proceeded againſt according to the Laws of his own Countrey.

At his entrance into the City, (by reaſon of an Impediment in his feet, he being forc'd to be carried in a Coach) there was a great concourſe of People to ſee him. Some, remembring the greatneſs of his former Renown, extreamly pitied his old Age: many were highly exaſperated againſt him, upon ſuſpition of Treaſon about the buſineſs of the Fort; but that which enraged them moſt was, that now in his latter days, he ſhould ſo much oppoſe the Liberties of the People. When he came to the Bar, they would not give him leave to plead his own Cauſe, but after a ſlight formality of Juſtice, publickly condemn'd him, and delivered him to the *Eleven*, to whom according to the cuſtom of the *Athenians*, the publick *Execution* of Traitors does belong. As he was drawn to the place of [*l*] Execution, one *Emphyletus*, formerly an intimate Acquaintance, meets him, and with tears in his eyes cry'd out: O Phocion! *how Unjuſt and unworthy are theſe puniſhments thou endureſt?* *They may be unjuſt*, reply'd the Priſoner, *but they are not in the leaſt unexpected, for very many Eminent* Athenians

ans *have gone this way to their Deaths.* The Odium of the Mobile was so violent, that no Freeman durst bury him: therefore his Body was interred by Slaves. [*m*]

[*a*] *Forty-five times*, says Plutarch, *before ever he was free of the City. He was the darling of the People, while out of favour with the Government.* [*b*] *The* Greek *name is* χρηστός (χρησιμῷ Hesych.) *which was conferred upon him*, says Suid. κοινῇ ψήφῳ τὸ Ἐκκλησια *in a Common Hall*, nemine contradicente, *because he relieved many indigent Citizens, and contributed to provide for their Children.* [*c*] Plutarch says, *it was his Son* Alexander *that sent his Gift, as a Reward for the good service he had done him, in keeping* Athens *true to his Interest while he was upon his* Asian *Expedition. The sum was* 100 *Talents, about* 8000 *pound* English. [*d*] *An* Athenian *Captain, who went to assist the* Byzantines *against King* Philip; *but managing Affairs imprudently, he was called home, and* Phocion *sent in his Place.* [*e*] *Who defended* Athens *on the Land side*, ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ στρατηγός. Plut. [*f*] *A famous* Athenian *General, who perswaded* Ptolemy *King*

of

of Egypt *to have the Holy Bible translated out of* Hebrew *into* Greek, *by the LXXII.* Jos. Ant Lib. 12. c. 2. [*g*] *The one General* (στρατηγος) *and the other a Captain* (χιλιαρχος) *in* Antipaters *Army: Upon whose death they fell out betwixt themselves, and by their interest divided the* Athenians [*h*] ὑπρισμας, Plut. [*i*] Philippus Aridæus, *an Effeminate, weak Prince.* [*k*] *A violent, bawling Lawyer, who run down* Phocion *with noise and clamour: and was afterwards, when the* Athenians *better understood themselves, condemned for his pains.* [*l*] *'Twas on the nineteenth day of* March, *which was a Festival in honour of* Jupiter, *that the punishment might be more exemplary.* [*m*] Plutarch *says, that one* Conopion, *a Common Officer, burnt his body, and that an old Woman gathered up his bones and buried them with this Wish,* O *Athenians,* When you return to your Wits, give these Bones a more honourable Burial. *It happened accordingly; for within a short time, finding their Error, in taking off so brave a Man, They reversed the sentence, solemnly interred his Body, Erected a Statue in Honour of Him at the publick cost; and condemned, or banished all that had any hand in his Accusation.*

THE

THE LIFE OF *TIMOLEON.*

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Cary.* M. A. of St. *Mary*-Hall *Oxon.*

TIMOLEON, a Corinthian born, was without doubt, in the general eſteem of the World, a very Eminent Man; for he had the happineſs to which few or none could arrive, of freeing his Native Country from the oppreſſion of a Tyrant, of redeeming the

the City of *Syracuſe*, to whoſe aſſiſtance he was ſent, from a long continued Bondage, and of reſtoring all *Sicily* to its former condition, which had been long harraſs'd by War, and the inhumane uſage of the [*a*] *Barbarians*. But in the managing of all thoſe Affairs, he met with many different Adventures; and what is thought to be the hardeſt encounter of the two, he behav'd himſelf rather the more diſcreetly in his Proſperity, than in his Adverſity. For when his Brother *Timophanes*, who was made General by the *Corinthians*, by the help of his Mercenary Souldiers had invaded the Soveraignty, and *Timoleon* might have had a ſhare in the Royalty with him, He was ſo far from abetting any ſuch peice of Villany, that he put a much greater value upon his Fellow Citizens Liberty, than he did upon his Brothers Life, and look'd upon himſelf infinitely more oblig'd to live in obedience to the Laws of his Country than to rule over it. Being a Man of theſe principles, he contriv'd to have his Brother the Tyrant Murther'd by a certain Soothſayer, and another who was related to 'em both, as having married their own Siſter both by Father and Mother. In which Murther he was ſo far from having any hand, that he would not ſo much

much as look upon his Brothers blood ſhed. For while the thing was putting in Execution by them, he took a Poſt at a diſtance that none of his Life-guard might come to his Reſcue. This notable Action of his, was not look'd upon by all with the ſame eyes, for ſome took it to be a breach of Piety, and by a Siniſter interpretation repreſented the whole matter as unwarrantable. Nay, his Mother, after this, would never let him come within her Doors, nor as much as admit him into her preſence, but out of deteſtation of the Fact, would brand him with the name of unnatural Aſſaſſine of his Prince and Brother. At the hearing of which words, he was ſo mightily concern'd, that he had ſometimes thoughts of being his own Executioner, and by imbracing Death to abandon the ſight of an ungrateful World.

In the mean while, after *Dion* was ſlain at *Syracuſe*, *Dionyſius* made himſelf again Maſter of the Town; But they of the contrary Party, Petition'd the *Corinthians* for ſuccour, and deſir'd a General over their Forces. In which Expedition, *Timoeon* was ſent, and with wonderful ſucceſs, beat *Dionyſius* quite out of *Sicily*; yet ſpar'd his Life, when it was in his Power to have taken it away;

away; and took particular care to ſee him ſafely convey'd to the City of *Corinth*, which had been frequently ſupported by the aid and aſſiſtance it receiv'd from both the *Dionyſii*. Of which Favour *Timoleon* was willing to leave a Memorial; eſteeming that Conqueſt much more Honourable, which had in it more of Mercy than Cruelty. In a word, he ſent him thither alive, that the World might not receive it by Tradition only, but be eye-witneſſes, what a Perſonage he had reduc'd from ſo great an Empire to ſo mean a condition. After *Dionyſius's* departure, *Timoleon* engaged in a freſh War with *Icetas*, who had acted contrary to *Dionyſius's* intereſt, not ſo much out of diſlike or hatred of his Tyranny, as out of private intreſt, as was plain from his unwillingneſs to quit his Command, when *Dionyſius* was depos'd. *Icetas* being defeated, *Timoleon* routed a very formidable Army of the *Carthaginians* at the River *Crimeſſus*, and oblig'd them to reſt contented, if they might be permitted to live quietly in *Africk*, who for many years paſt had been in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*. Beſides all this, he took *Mamercus* an *Italian* Commander Priſoner; a very Warlike Man, and one of great intereſt, who had come over into *Sicily* to the Aſſiſtance of the Tyrants. Theſe

Theſe things being happily Atchiev'd, and finding by a long continuance of War, that not only Countries, but Cities alſo were depopulated, he drew together all poſſible Recruits, firſt of the *Sicilians*, then of new Planters which he brought over from *Corinth*, becauſe the City *Syracuſe* was by them Originally Founded. To the old Inhabitants he reſtor'd their own; the divided among thoſe of the new Plantation, the Eſtates of ſuch whoſe owners had been loſt in the Wars; he repair'd the ruinated Cities, and demoliſh'd Temples; he Erected anew the ſeveral States upon their old Laws and Liberties, and after a moſt dreadful War, ſettled ſo great a Peace and Quiet through the whole Iſland, that he might rather be taken for the Founder of thoſe Cities, than they who had at firſt Planted 'em. The Citadel of *Syracuſe* which *Dionyſius* had Fortifi'd, on purpoſe to block up the Town, he eras'd from the very Foundation, ſleighted all other Bulwarks of Tyrannical Government, and did what in him lay, that as few marks of Bondage as could might remain. Having ſo great Power, as that he could have extorted obedience from them; and again being ſuch a Favourite of all the *Sicilians*, that he might have come to the Crown, by a unamimous conſent, he choſe rather

rather to be Belov'd than Fear'd: Therefore as ſoon as conveniently he could, he laid down his Command, and paſs'd the remaining part of his Life there, as a private Perſon. And this was not done unadviſedly; for he maintain'd that Grandeur and Authority through a mutual good will, which other Princes could never compaſs by force. Every Man paid him conſtantly a very Great reſpect; and no publick Buſineſs was ever after Tranſacted at *Syracuſe*, of which any Decree was made, before *Timoleon's* ſenſe of the matter was underſtood. No Mans Counſel was ever preferr'd before his, nor as much as ſtood in competition with it. And ſo to do was not more their Affection, than Wiſdom.

When he was grown old, he loſt his Eye-ſight; which Affliction he bore with ſo much Patience, that he was never heard to complain of it, nor was yet leſs uſeful in private concerns or publick Affairs. For he came to the *Theater*, when the People met there in Counſel, drawn by a pair of Mules, by reaſon of his infirmities [*b*] and ſo from the Coach deliver'd his opinion concerning the matter in debate, which no Body look'd upon as a piece of pride in him; for never did any thing like Inſolence or vain Glory come out of his mouth. If

at

at any time he had heard himself magnifi'd, he would only reply, That he did signally bless the Gods, and was bound upon that particular account to be alwayes thankful, for that, when the Gods were graciously pleas'd to raise *Syracuse*, they made choice of him as their unworthy Instrument. For he thought, that no humane actions were brought to perfection without an over-ruling Providence. And therefore he Erected a private Chappel in his house to Fortune, where he with much constancy and zeal paid his Devotions.

Besides this most excellent temper of his, several remarkable Accidents concurr'd to render him famous. For all his most memorable Battels happen'd to be fought upon the day on which he was born; so that it fell out, that all *Sicily* made their Anniversary Feasts on his Birth-day. When one *Laphystius*, an inconsiderable, sawcy, and ungrateful Fellow, requir'd stipulation of him for an appearance, under colour of an Action that he had against him; and the Multitude flocking together, endeavour'd forcibly to curb the pretenders insolence; *Timoleon* beseech'd 'em to desist; Alledging, That he had gone through great hardships, and extream dangers, chiefly upon the account, that *Laphystius* and others

others might enjoy their Liberty. For the true nature of Freedom is, that any one may try out whatever Cauſe he has by due courſe of Law. When another Fellow, much like *Laphyſtius*, *Demænetus* by name, in a harangue before all the People Aſſembled in Council, had detracted from the Glory of *Timoleon's* Actions, and had ſharply inveigh'd againſt him, he made no other anſwer, but that he now found that his Prayers were heard; For he had ever made it his humble Requeſt to the Gods, that the *Syracuſians* might injoy ſuch a Liberty, whereby every one might be free to ſpeak his Sentiments of whom he pleas'd. When he dy'd, he was interr'd at the publick charge of the *Syracuſians* (in an Academy, which had its denomination from him) all finely attending his Funerals.

[*a*] *The* Carthaginians. [*b*] *He was Aged, Blind, and had the Gout.*

THE LIFE OF HAMILCAR.

Done into *English* by Mr. *Brideoke*, M. A. of *Trin.* Coll. *Oxon.*

HAMILCAR, a *Carthaginian*, Surnam'd *Barcas*, the Son of *Hannibal*, at the latter end of the first *Punic* War, tho then very young, was constituted Generalissimo of the Forces in *Sicily*. In which Employment he behav'd himself

himself so well, that (tho before his time the *Carthaginian* Army was always worsted both by Sea and Land) he still kept his Ground, and was so vigilant, that his Enemies could never find him unprovided; but on the contrary, when opportunity serv'd, would fall upon them, and always made himself Master of the Field. Moreover, when the *Carthaginians*, by their ill success had very near lost all footing in *Sicily*, he so prudently defended the City *Eryx*, as not to leave the least sign of a War behind him. But in the interim, C. *Lutatius*, the then *Roman* Consul, having beaten the *Carthaginian* Fleet at the Islands *Agates*, the *Carthaginians* resolv'd to conclude the VVar, and to that end made *Hamilcar* their Plenipotentiary. VVho, tho naturally more inclin'd to War than Peace, yet in that juncture of Affairs, he preferred Peace; because his Country being then poor, could no longer endure the hardships and expences of War; yet he reserved this to himself, that as soon as the *Carthaginians* were a little refreshed, again to renew the War, and by Arms oppose the *Romans*, until Fortune had determined the Conquest. With this resolution he concluded the peace; in the setling whereof, he was so stout, that when *Catulus* refused to sign

the Articles, unleſs he, with the whole Garriſon of the City *Eryx*, would depart *Sicily* without their Arms; He bravely and ſharply replied, that tho his Country being poor, could yield him no aſſiſtance yet he would rather dye, than return to his home with ſuch Ignominy and Reproach. For it would not conſiſt with his Valour, tamely to deliver up to his Enemies thoſe Weapons which were committed to his Truſt for the defence of his Countrey. Upon this his reſolution *Catulus* complied.

But *Hamilcar*, ſo ſoon as he arrived at *Carthage*, found the Commonwealth in a condition worſe than he expected. For by the long continuance of the Forreign War, Inteſtine diſcords were ſo much heightned, that *Carthage* was never in the like dangerous condition, unleſs when it was quite raz'd and demoliſh'd. For the Mercenary Soldiers, who were twenty thouſand ſtrong, and (who had formerly fought againſt the *Romans*) Revolting, drew all *Afirica* to their Party, and likewiſe beſieged *Carthage*. By which great misfortune the *Carthaginians* were ſo Terrified, that they ſought for Aid and Protection from their greateſt Enemies, the *Romans*, and obtained their Requeſt. But in fine, when they were almoſt reduced to the utmoſt

utmoſt extremities of miſery and deſpair, they voted *Hamilcar* their General. Who not only made thoſe Rebels, who were above twenty thouſand, to raiſe their ſiege from before *Carthage*, but alſo forced them to that extremity, that ſhutting them up in places where they were void of all relief, more periſh'd by Famine than were kill'd by the Sword. He brought back again the revolted Towns to their former Duty and Obedience; and amongſt the reſt, *Utica* and *Hippo*, the two wealthieſt Cities of all *Africa*. Neither was he He ſatisfied with this; but he alſo enlarg'd the Empire, and all *Africk* was ſo ſetled, that none could imagine that there had been any War there for many years before.

Theſe things being finiſh'd by him ſo ſucceſsfully, out of a couragious and an exaſperated mind againſt the *Romans*, and that He might more handſomely pick a Quarrel with them, he contriv'd that he himſelf ſhould go Commander with an Army into *Spain*, taking along with him his young Son *Hannibal*, then but nine years old. With him marcht *Haſdrubal*, that Beautiful and brave Youth; whom ſome think to have been belov'd too much by *Hamilcar*, in a manner not allowed to his Sex: For great men ſeldom eſcape ill Mens ma i-

cious Tongues. And upon this account the Youth *Haſdrubal* was forbid by the Cenſor to attend the General. But *Hamilcar* giving his Daughter in Marriage to *Haſdrubal*, found out that way as the beſt expedient of enjoying the Youth's company; for their Laws did not forbid the Son-in-law to converſe with his Father. I thought this paſſage worthy of my notice, becauſe when *Hamilcar* was kill'd, he Commanded the Army, and was Succeſsful in many remarkable Exploits; and during his Command, by large Gifts he ſo corrupted the ancient manners of the *Carthaginians*, that after his Death *Hannibal* receiv'd his Power from the Army.

Hamilcar, after he had croſs'd the Sea, and entred *Spain*, with great ſucceſs undertook vaſt deſigns; he ſubdued the moſt Warlike, and the wealthieſt Countries; and furniſhed all *Africa* with Men and Horſes, Arms and Money. But as he was deſigning a War on *Italy*, in the ninth year after his entrance into *Spain*, Fighting againſt the *Vettones*, He was unfortunately ſlain. His implacable hatred againſt his Enemies the *Romans*, was the chief cauſe of the ſecond *Punick* War; for his Son *Hannibal* was ſo exaſperated by the daily and repeated Conjurations

jurations of his Father, that he often declared, he had rather perish, than not try the Courage of the *Romans*.

THE LIFE OF HANNIBAL, THE *CARTHAGINIAN*, THE Son of HAMILCAR.

Done into *English*, by the Honourable Mr. *Leopold William Finch*, Fellow of *All-Souls* Coll. *Oxon.*

AS 'tis a Truth of undoubted Certainty, That the *Romans* did exceed all other People in Bravery; ſo likewiſe muſt it be confeſt, That *Hannibal* was as far above all other Commanders for his Wiſdom and Conduct, as the *Roman* Valour was more eminent than

than that of all different Nations. For during the whole time that *Italy* was the Seat of his Action, Succeſs continually waited on his Arms; inſomuch, that had not the Envy of his Enemies at home unfortunately hindred his progreſs abroad, He ſeems to have been ſufficiently able to have made an abſolute Conqueſt over the *Roman* Empire. But too numerous were his detracting Foes, to be Encounter'd by the Gallantry of a ſingle Perſon. He ſo improv'd the Hatred that his Father bore the *Roman* Nation, and which was in a manner Hereditary to Him, that He would ſooner have parted with his Life, than in the leaſt have abated of his Averſion to that People. For tho he lay under the unhappy circumſtances of a Baniſhed Man, and conſequently was obliged to Forreign Princes for their aſſiſtance, yet He never ceas'd (at leaſt in his intention) to wage War with the *Romans*. Not to inſtance in King *Philip* (whom he render'd an Enemy to that Nation, tho he had not the advantage of Conſulting with him in Perſon) He poſſeſs'd King *Antiochus*, a Prince of the greateſt Strength and Power of thoſe times, with ſo eager a deſire of making War upon them, that he raiſed the whole Force of his Empire,

as

as far as the *Red Sea*, with a design to Invade *Italy*. To this *Antiochus* it was that Embassadors were sent from *Rome*, to the intent they might inform themselves of his Resolutions, and use all possible endeavours, by underhand Policies, to bring *Hannibal* into suspicion with the King, by assuring Him, that (as if they had withdrawn him from his Fidelity) He now espous'd a quite different Interest than He had formerly served. They effected this with no small success, as *Hannibal* soon perceiv'd, when he found that He was turn'd out of the Privy Council; so that at a convenient time, He first waits on the King, and having put him in mind of his great Loyalty to him, and his Hatred to the *Roman* People, he added over and above, *When I was a Boy of about nine years of Age, my Father* Hamilcar *being upon his departure from* Carthage, *as General into* Spain, *offer'd up Sacrifice to the Great* Jupiter; *during which Solemnity, he asked me, whether I would bear him company to the Camp; which when I readily accepted of, and began to importune him, that he would not scruple to take me along with Him; I will* (says he) *grant your Request, provided you will take an Oath, which I shall propose to you; Upon which he led me to the Altar where he*

he deſign'd to Sacrifice. And when (according to Cuſtom) I had laid my Hands upon it; the reſt of the company being at a diſtance, he commanded me to ſwear, That I would never be in Friendſhip with the Roman *People. This Oath, which my Father then gave me, I have preſerv'd ſo inviolably to this very day, as not to give any Man the leaſt ground of ſuſpecting, but that I ſhall be ever of the ſame Diſpoſition. So that now if you entertain any thoughts of contracting any kind of Friendſhip with the* Romans, *'twill be your wiſeſt courſe to conceal it from my knowledg; but on the other hand, whenever you deſign a War with them, you will very much miſtake your meaſures, if you do not principally commit the management of it to my hands.*

'Twas at this Age he accompanied his Father into *Spain*, after whoſe Death *Haſdrubal* ſucceeding as General, the Command of the Cavalry was conferr'd upon Him; and *Haſdrubal* not long after being Murder'd, the Army unanimouſly choſe Him in his place; an account of which no ſooner reach'd *Carthage*, but was receiv'd with the public Approbatiou of the State. Thus *Hannibal*, not yet twenty-five years of Age, was actually General of all the *Carthaginian* forces, and within the ſpace of three years after,

after, ſubdued all the Countries of *Spain*; He took *Saguntum* (a City in Alliance with the *Romans*) by Storm. He rais'd three vaſt Armies; one of which he ſent into *Afric*, another he left with his Brother *Haſdrubal* in *Spain*, and the third he Commanded in Perſon into *Italy*. He paſs'd the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and all along as he march'd, having frequent Encounters with the Inhabitants, He Conquer'd all He Fought. Coming at laſt to thoſe *Alps* which divide *Italy* from *Gallia*, the Inhabitants oppos'd his Paſſage, which He ſoon laid open by cutting them in pieces. He was the firſt Man that ever led an Army over theſe Mountains, except *Hercules* the *Grecian*, from whoſe paſſage they took their Name. Here *Hannibal* open'd the Way, and fortified the Paſs, making ſo great an alteration, that the Elephants, together with their Furniture, could march conveniently in that very place, where before a ſingle Man, tho unarm'd, could ſcarce creep along. From hence leading his Forces into *Italy*, he had an Encounter on the River *Rhone*, with *P. C. Scipio* the Conſul, and put him to flight. He fought him likewiſe near the River *Po*, for the Town *Claſtidium*, where *Scipio* himſelf was wounded, and his Army utterly routed. He had a third Battel with him and his

Collegue

Collegue *Tiberius Longus*, who advanc'd towards Him near the River *Trebia*, where he engaged them, and defeated them both. Marching at length through *Liguria*, he croſs'd the *Appenine* Hills, intending for *Hetruria*. In this march he was extreamly afflicted with a diſtemper in his Eyes, to that degree, that he could never recover the perfect uſe of his right one again; But notwithſtanding his indiſpoſition was ſuch that he was forc'd to be carried in a Litter, he obtain'd a very ſignal Victory over *C. Flaminius* the Conſul, at the Lake [*a*] *Thraſimenus*, where having circumvented him by ambuſh, he cut him off with his whole Army. In a ſhort time after, he ſerv'd *C. Centenius* in the ſame manner, who with a choſen party of Men, had poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Tops of the Mountains. He came from hence into *Apulia*, where the two Conſuls *C. Terentius Varro*, and *Lucius Paulus Æmilius* advanc'd towards Him, and in one Battel he routed both their Armies; In which Engagement *Lucius Paulus* the Conſul was kill'd, with many more who had ſuſtain'd that Dignity, amongſt whom was *Cn. Serilius Geminus*, who had enjoyed it the foregoing year. After this Action, He march'd to *Rome* without any Oppoſition.

poſition. He halted for ſome time on the neighbouring Mountains, and in a few dayes after decamp'd from thence. In his return to *Capua*, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the *Roman* Dictator, oppos'd himſelf to him in the *Falernian* Field. Tho the Streights were ſo very narrow, that *Hannibal's* Army was perfectly ſhut up, yet by the advantage of the Night he got away without any damage. Here it was, that he outwitted that ſubtle Commander *Fabius:* For in the dead of the Night he commands his Souldiers to ſet fire to the Boughs of the Trees, which he had before order'd to be faſten'd to the Horns of a conſiderable number of Oxen, which he drove in a hurry upon them: This unexpected ſight was no ſooner beheld, but it put the *Roman* Army into ſuch a conſternation, that not a man offer'd to ſtir out of his Trenches. A few days after, he defeated *Marcus Minutius Rufus*, General of the Cavalry (whoſe Command at that time, by the Votes of the People, was made equal to that of Dictator) whom he had cunningly decoy'd into a Battel. And tho he was not preſent at the Action (as being then in *Lucania*), yet at a diſtance he laid an Ambuſh for *Titus Sempronius Gracchus*, the ſecond time Conſul, and ſlew him; as he did *Marcus*

cus Claudius Marcellus, who had five times bore that Office. 'Twould be a tedious work to give a distinct Relation of each particular action; so that this short Account shall suffice, to shew the World how extraordinary a Person he was. That so long as he was in *Italy* no man was able to resist him in Battel, neither durst any one after the Defeat at *Cannæ* make Head against him in the Field. Being thus far a Conqueror, He was at last call'd home to the Relief of his own Country. He was employed in the management of the War against the Son of that *Scipio* whom he had formerly beaten on the Rivers of *Rhone* and *Po*, having likewise defeated him near the River *Trebia*. But the Affairs of his Country being in a desperate condition, he was very willing (in a Conference with *Scipio*) to put an end to the War at present, that he might be in a better condition to renew it. Accordingly they had an interview; but the Conditions proposed were such as could not be agreed upon. So, that in a few days afterwards he fought him at *Zama*; in which battel, *Hannibal* being utterly routed, with incredible speed, in the space of two days and two nights, arriv'd at *Adrumetum*, which is three hundred miles distant from *Zama*. In this

this flight the *Numidians* (who quitted the Battel at the ſame time with *Hannibal*) conſpir'd againſt him; but he had not only the good Fotune to avoid their Treachery, but to ſuppreſs them. Here he rallied together all thoſe who had ſaved themſelves by flight ; and new Muſters being made, in a few days he liſted a conſiderable number. While he was thus earneſtly employed in making preparations for a War, the *Carthaginians* conclude a Peace with the *Romans*. *Hannibal* notwithſtanding had the Command of an Army, and (together with his Brother *Mago*) was in Action in *Afric* till the time that *P. Sulpicius* and *Caius Aurelius* were Conſuls; for 'twas during their Magiſtracy, that the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors were ſent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, to return thanks to the Senate and People for the Peace they had granted ; and in conſideration of the Favour , to preſent them with a Golden Crown ; intreating them withal, that their Hoſtages might be remov'd to *Fregellæ*, and their Priſoners Reſtor'd. To whom the Senate gave this anſwer, That as their Preſent was very grateful and acceptable to them, ſo likewiſe they conſented, that their Hoſtages might be lodg'd where they had deſir'd ; but that their Captives

ſhould

ſhould by no means be releas'd, becauſe they ſtill employ'd *Hannibal* (the Author and Beginner of the War, and the irreconcileable Enemy of the *Roman* Name) with his Brother *Mago*, in the chief Command of their Armies. They no ſooner receiv'd this anſwer, but *Hannibal* and *Mago* were recall'd home again. *Hannibal* at his return was choſen Prætor, after he had been King twenty-two years. For as it was cuſtomary at *Rome*, yearly to elect two Conſuls; at *Carthage* two Kings were annually choſen. He acquitted himſelf in this Employment, with the ſame Prudence as he did in War; For he took care, that the new Impoſts ſhould not only furniſh Mony for the Tribute paid to the *Romans*, but that ſome over and above ſhould be left to lay up in the Exchequer. The year after his Prætorſhip, Embaſſadors arriving at *Carthage*, *Hannibal* ſuſpecting they came to demand him, privately takes ſhip before they could have Audience of the Senate, and flies to King *Antiochus* in *Syria*; which when the *Carthaginians* knew, they immediately ſent out two Ships with orders to apprehend him if they could overtake him; which not being able to effect, they confiſcated his Goods, raz'd his Houſe to the very ground, and proclaim'd him a Baniſht

Cap. 8

Man. In the Conſulſhip *Lucius Cornelius* and *Quintus Minutius* (which was three years after his departure from his own Country) He Cruis'd for ſome time about the Coaſt of *Cyrenaica* with five Ships, endeavouring to perſwade the *Carthaginians* to renew the War upon the confidence of *Antiochus* his ſtrength, whom he had already perſwaded to invade *Italy*; then He engag'd his Brother *Mago* in the deſign, of which the *Carthaginians* being inform'd, they us'd him with the ſame ſeverity they had inflicted on his Brother. Thus their Affairs being in an ill condition, they ſet ſail for *Aſia* to King *Antiochus*. There are two different accounts given of the Death of *Mago*, ſome Authors affirming that he periſhed by Shipwrack; others, that he was murdered by his own Servants. Had *Antiochus* hearken'd to *Hannibals* Counſel, as well in the management of the War, as he had done in the undertaking it, the deciſion of the Empire of the World might have been nearer the River *Tibur* than the Streights of *Thermopylæ*. But notwithſtanding, this Great Commander well underſtood the Imprudence of his Conduct, yet he would never forſake him in any Enterprize. He was made Admiral of a ſmall Fleet, with orders to convey them from *Syria* into *Aſia*; with this he ingaged the *Rhodian* Navy in the

Pam-

Pamphylian Sea; who being very much Superior to him in number, his party was beaten, tho that Squadron which he himſelf fought in, had the advantage of the Enemy. After the Defeat of *Antiochus*, *Hannibal* fearing leaſt he would deliver him up to the *Romans* (as certainly he would have done, had not He prevented him) went in to *Crete* to the *Gortynians*, that he might have time there to conſider, how to diſpoſe of Himſelf hereafter. And here out of his extraordinary ſubtilty, he foreſaw he ſhould be in great danger, by reaſon of the Covetous humor of the *Cretans*. For he brought a conſiderable ſum of money with Him, the rumour of which he knew was already ſpread abroad. This therefore was his device; Having fill'd a great number of Veſſels with Lead, and covering the top of them with Gold and Silver, He places them in the Temple of *Diana*, in the preſence of the *Gortinyans*; pretending that He committed his whole Fortune to their Truſt. After he had put this cheat upon them, He fills up ſeveral Braſs hollow Statues (which he had brought along with him) with his money, and throws them negligently in the outward Court. In the mean time, they guard the Temple with the greateſt ſtrictneſs; not ſo much ſuſpecting other people, as fearing

leaſt *Hannibal*, without their knowledge might remove the prize He had committed to them. Thus our *Carthaginian*, having ſav'd his Treaſure intire, and finely deluded the people of *Crete*, He came at length to *Pruſias* the King of *Bythinia* in *Pontey*; where He ſtill preſerv'd his old inclination towards *Italy*, and made it his endeavor to engage the King againſt the *Roman* People. But when He perceiv'd He was not ſtrong enough of Himſelf to oppoſe them, He Aſſociated other Kings, and Warlike Nations in a Confederacy. *Eumenes*, as being a great Friend to the *Roman* Intereſt, refus'd to joyn in the Alliance; ſo that they maintain'd a War with each other, both by Sea and Land. But being back'd by the *Romans*, He was infinitely too hard for them. Now *Hannibal* perceiving, how neceſſary it was for the better ſucceſs in His Affairs, that *Eumenes* ſhould be cut off, he reſolves upon this way to rid himſelf of Him. They were in a ſhort time to engage at Sea; but *Hannibal* being overpower'd in number, Stratagem was to ſupply the place of Strength; Accordingly he charges his Men to get as many poyſonous Serpents as they could, and put them into Earthen Veſſels; of which they procur'd (as commanded) a conſiderable

ſiderable number. On the day that they were to fight, having call'd his Seamen together, he gave them order, that they ſhould all ruſh together upon the Ship in which *Eumenes* was, and that in the mean time, they need not doubt, but that they were able enough to defend themſelves from the reſt, ſince they were provided of ſo great a number of Serpents. It ſhould be his buſineſs to ſhew them which was the Ship he would have aſſaulted; and likewiſe to reward the perſon who ſhould either kill the King, or take Him Priſoner. After he had given theſe directions, the two Fleets being ſet in order, and about to engage; That his Souldiers might plainly ſee, where this *Eumenes* was before the ſign was given, He ſends out a Meſſenger in a ſmall Boat, having a white Wand in His hand (as a token of Peace); when he was come near to the Enemies Fleet, he ſhews them a Letter, asks for the King, upon which he was immediately Conducted to Him, every one taking it for granted, that *Hannibal* had ſent him to treat of Peace; the Meſſenger having thus diſcover'd to his own Party which was the Kings Ship, returns again. When *Eumenes* had broke open the Letter, he found nothing contain'd therein, but what tended to Laughter

and Contempt of his Perſon; He very much wonder'd what the meaning of this ſhould be, which tho he could not underſtand, without any more ado He engages the Enemy; At the very firſt Onſet, the *Bythinians*, according to their orders, ruſhing on all together, beſet *Eumenes* his Ship, who being not able to withſtand their ſhock, ſaved his Life by flight, which he could never have effected, had he not betook himſelf to his Guards in the neighbouring Shore. When the reſt of the Navy of *Eumenes* began more fiercely to Attack the *Bythinians*, they pour'd in their Veſſels upon them, which at firſt the Enemy only Laught at, who could not deviſe what their intent could be But when they perceiv'd that their Ships were full of Serpents, being affrightned with the ſtrangeneſs of the thing, and knowing not what danger chiefly to avoid, at laſt they tack'd about, and made to their Port; So that the Cunning of *Hannibal* was too Powerful for the Force of the *Pergamenan* Navy; Who by the ſame kind of ſtratagem had frequently obtain'd great Victories at Land. While theſe things were Tranſacting in *Aſia*, King *Pruſias's* Embaſſadors (then at *Rome*) being accidently at Supper with *Caius Quintus Flaminius* the Conſul;

Cap. 12

ſul; ſome body accidentally happening to mention *Hannibals* Name, one of the company ſaid, that He was in their Kingdom. The next day *Flaminius* acquaints the Senate, with what had been affirm'd by this perſon; who imagining that they ſhould be never free from Treacheries, ſo long as *Hannibal* was alive, diſpatched Embaſſadors into *Bythinia*, (one of which was *Flaminius*) who were to demand of the King, that he ſhould not protect their moſt inveterate Enemy, but forthwith deliver him up into their hands. *Pruſias* could not deny, but that *Hannibal* was in his Dominions, tho he refus'd himſelf to betray him to the Embaſſadors; deſiring, that they would not Requeſt any thing which was ſo much againſt the Laws of hoſpitality; But let them take him if they could, who without any difficulties might find him out. *Hannibal* conſtantly confin'd himſelf to one place, being a Caſtle with which the King had Preſented him as a Reward for his Services; which he ſo contriv'd, that he had Sallies on all ſides, through which he might eſcape, if he ſhould have occaſion; for he always ſuſpected that that would befall him, which at laſt did really happen. The *Roman*

Embaſſadors accompanied with a great number of Men, having at length ſurrounded this Caſtle on all parts; his Servant perceiving them from the Gate, runs to his Maſter and acquaints Him, that there appear'd a more than uſual Company of Armed Men; upon which He commands him to go round all the doors of the Houſe, and ſpeedily bring Him word whether there was any way to eſcape. When the Boy had immediately acquainted him how the caſe ſtood, and had farther aſſur'd Him, that all the paſſages were ſtopt, he was ſoon ſatisfied that this could not happen by accident, but that they came to ſeize his perſon; and that conſequently he could not long enjoy his Life, which he was reſolv'd ſhould not be in another Mans diſpoſal; upon which he immediately ſwallowed a doſe of poyſon, which he was always accuſtom'd to carry with Him. Thus, this our moſt Valiant *Hero*, harraſs'd with numerous and various Labours, repos'd himſelf in Death the ſeventieth year of his Age. Authors do not agree in whoſe Conſulſhip He dyed. For *Atticus* in his Annals affirms, that *Claudius M. Marcellus*, and *Q. Fabius Labeo*, did then bear that Office; *Polybius* on the other hand aſſerts, that it was in the time of *Lucius Æmilius Paulus*,

lus, and *Cn. Bælius Tamphilus*. But *Sulpitius* different from both, says, that *P. Corn. Cethegus*, and *Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus* were at that time Consuls. Tho this our Great Man was always imploy'd in the business of War, yet He bestowed some time in Learning. For he wrote several Books in the *Greek* Tongue, amongst which, one is an account of the Actions of *Cn. Manlius Volsus* in *Asia*, which he dedicated to the People of *Rhodes*. Many there are who have given an account of the Wars of *Hannibal*, among which were *Philenius* and *Sosilus* the *Lacedemonian*, who were his Fellow-Soldiers, and liv'd with Him as long as Fortune permitted. He made use of *Sosilus* as his Master, to Instruct Him in the *Greek* Tongue.

But now it is time for me to make an end of this History, and proceed to the giving an account of the *Roman* Generals, that comparing each others Virtues, we may be able to make an Estimate, which were the Braver Men.

[*a*] *Now call'd* Lago di Perugia.

THE LIFE OF CATO.

Done in *English* by Mr. *Edw. Robinson of Merton* Coll. *Oxon.*

CATO was a Native of the Corporation of *Tusculum*; while Young, before he engag'd in Publick Affairs, he Liv'd in the Country of the *Sabines*, because there was his Estate left him by his Father; *M. Perpenna Censorinus* was us'd to relate, that

that by the encouragement and advice of *L. Valerius Flaccus*, (who was afterwards his Partner both in the Offices of Conſul and Cenſor) he remov'd to *Rome*, and apply'd himſelf to the Law. When he was ſeventeen years old, he liſted himſelf a Soldier, which was under the Conſulſhip of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. He was a Tribune in the Army of *Sicily*: when he return'd thence, he went a Volunteer into the Army under the Command of *M. Claudius Nero*; where he did very good ſervice in the the Battel of *Sena*, in which *Haſdrubal*, *Hannibal*'s Brother, was ſlain. He was by lot choſe Queſtor to *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the Conſul, with whom he did not live in that Friendſhip which the Duty of the place requir'd; and no wonder, conſidering the whole courſe and bent of his Life was ſo contrary to that of *Scipio*'s. He was made Ædile with *C. Helvius*. When he was Prætor, he had the Province of *Sardinia* allotted him for his Government; From whence ſome time before (when he was Queſtor) as he was returning out of *Africk*, he invited and brought along with him *Q. Ennius* the Poet, *which was a prize of no leſs value, than the greateſt Triumph* Sardinia *could afford*. He was Conſul with *L. Valerius*

Valerius Flaccus; He gain'd by lot the Government of *Hiſpania Citerior*; From whence he return'd loaden with the Honours of a Triumph. He continu'd in his Province ſomething longer than was uſual, upon which *Scipio Africanus*, (who was now again Conſul, and whoſe Queſtor *Cato* had been in his former Conſulſhip) endeavour'd to remove him, and ſucceed in it himſelf: *Scipio* was then the greateſt Man in *Rome*, yet was his intereſt not ſtrong enough to gain this point of the Senate: *Becauſe at that time affairs were not Govern'd by Power, or the ſway of a Faction, but according to the ſevere Rules of Juſtice.* But this diſappointment ſo diſguſted *Scipio*, that when that Seſſion of the Senate was ended, he retir'd from Publick Employment, and liv'd privately in the City; *Cato* being Elected Cenſor with the forementiond *Flaccus*, behav'd himſelf in that office with a great deal of rigor: He cenſur'd ſeveral of the Nobility; publiſh'd new Edicts to reſtrain the growth of Luxury, which at that time began to ſhow it ſelf in its buds. He ſpent about eighty years from his Youth to the laſt days of his Life, in the ſervice of the Common-Wealth, in all which time, the ſincere purſuit of the intereſt of the Common-Wealth continually rais'd him many Enemies, which he

he so little valu'd, that the fear of no Man's displeasure could influence him so far as to alter his measures. Very many there were, who fram'd accusations against him, which were so far from injuring his Reputation, that his good Name grew as fast upon him as his Age. He was a Man of great Conduct and Application in Business; He was a skilful Husbandman, a good Statesman, a good Lawyer, a great General, a persuasive Orator, and none more addicted to Learning: He did indeed apply himself to Letters something late, yet was there scarcely any thing in the *Greek* or *Roman* Literature, that he did not perfectly understand. From his Youth he exercis'd himself in the composing of Orations. When he was old, he entertain'd himself with writing History, of which he left seven Books; The first contains the Actions of the *Roman* Kings: The second, gives an account of the Founding and Beginning of each City in *Italy*, upon which reason possibly he entitles his Books *Origines*. In the fourth, he gives a relation of the first *Punick* War, and in the fifth of the second; and of all these things he has only given us the Heads or matter of Fact, without engaging in the particular circumstances of Affairs: After the same manner

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ner he wrote the reſt of the *Roman* Wars, even to the Prætorſhip of *Ser. Galba*, (who has the infamy of pillaging of *Luſitani* fix'd upon his name). In theſe his Chronicles of the Wars, he did not mention any Commanders, but without any names at all, gave us the naked Event of things. We have given a more particular account of his Life and manners, in that Hiſtory, which at the Requeſt of *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, we wrote on purpoſe concerning him, to which we remit the Lovers of *Cato*.

THE

THE LIFE OF *ATTICUS*.

Done into *English* by Mr. *Morgan* of St. *John's* Coll. *Oxon.*

POMPONIUS *Atticus* was Deſcended of one of the moſt ancient Houſes in *Rome*, and the Dignity of a Knight was deriv'd down to him from his Anceſtors, being an Honor Inherent in his Family. His Father was an induſtrious Man, and very indulgent towards

towards him; was of a Genius Accommodated to the times, and very ſtudious; As He was a Lover of Learning himſelf, ſo he infus'd thoſe inclinations into his Son; for he train'd up his Youth in all thoſe Sciences which his tender Age was capable of: But the Lad, beſides a great docility of Wit, had an extraordinary ſweetneſs of Aſpect and Elocution; ſo that he not only quickly apprehended what was taught him, but pronounc'd it too with a very agreeable cadence. Theſe Attainments ſo early diſcloſing themſelves, got him an high Reputation, and dazl'd his Cotemporaries; for he gave brighter hopes of himſelf, than thoſe other young Gentleman who were his School-Fellows could look ſtedily upon; ſo that his forwardneſs of Example piqu'd them all with generous incitements. Amongſt whom were *L. Torquatus*, *C. Marius*, *Caius* his Son, and *M. Cicero*, whom he ſo gain'd to him by the obliging air of his Converſation, that no Perſon was always ſo dear to them as He himſelf. His Father died in a little time, and he being very young, run a great hazard, by reaſon of his being related to *P. Sulpitius* who was kill'd when he was Tribune of the People. For *Anicia* who was Couſin German to *Pomponius*, Married *Servius*, who was Brother

Brother to *Sulpitius*; therefore, after *Sulpitius* was ſlain, and he ſaw the City Embaraſs'd with the Commotions of *Cinna*, ſo that he could not live with that Port which became his Quality, for the Intereſts of the Citizens were divided, ſome addicting themſelves to the Faction of *Cinna*, and others to that of *Sylla*, thinking it a fair opportunity to follow his Studies, He went to *Athens*; But this did not hinder, but that he beſtow'd Money upon young *Marius*, who was declar'd an Enemy to his Country, and ſupplyed him when he was a Fugitive; and that his withdrawing from *Rome* might not prejudice his Domeſtick Affairs, He convey'd the greateſt part of his Fortune along with him thither. Here he liv'd after that manner, that he was peculiarly belov'd by all the *Athenians*; For, beſides the Credit He had acquir'd, which was very great for a Young-Man, He reliev'd them in their Publick Exigents; for when they were to take up Money of the Bankers upon any great Payments, and could not obtain equitable Conditions, He always ſo ſeaſonably interpos'd, that, as he demanded no intereſt for the ſums he disburs'd, ſo he would not let them owe longer than the time they promis'd to refund them; and this procur'd them a double advantage: for

he would neither ſuffer the Debt to grow upon them by his forbearance, nor the Uſury of it to be multiplied. He made an acceſſion to this Courteſie by another piece of Liberality: for he diſtributed Corn amongſt them all, and gave to each of them ſix buſhels of Wheat, which ſort of Meaſure is called *Medimus* by the *Athenians*; here his carriage was ſo adjuſted, that as He was familiar to thoſe below him, ſo he was equal to thoſe of the firſt Quality. This had that grateful influence upon them, that they would have confer'd all the honours upon him they poſſibly could, and made him a Citizen: but this offer he refuſed, becauſe according to ſome Mens opinion, he that is made a Denizon of another City, forfeits the Freedom of his own. Whilſt he liv'd amongſt them, he always oppoſed their deſign of Erecting a Statue to him, but he could not hinder it when he was gone; ſo that in his abſence, they Celebrated the Memories of him and *Pilia* his Wife, by this laſting ſort of remembrance, even in the moſt conſecrated places of the City; for in every concern of the Commonwealth, they always followed his Conduct and Advice; therefore it was a partiality of Fortune to him, to be a Native of *Rome*, which was

was the Seat of the Empire of the World: and that which was his Country, was his Miſtreſs too, to whom he was Conſtant in his Obſervances; and it was a Glorious inſtance of his Wiſdom, that when he went to *Athens*, which claims the Preeminence above all other Cities for Antiquity, Humanity and Learning, they ſhould make choice of him amongſt all Mankind to be their Darling. When *Sylla* came here out of *Aſia*, as long as he tarried, he had always Young *Atticus* in his Company, for he was extreamly charmed with his good Parts, and the ſweetneſs of his humour: for he ſpoke *Greek* ſo perfectly, that he ſeemed to be born in *Athens*; and had that delicious fluency in the *Latin* Tongue, that it was very apparent, that the ſmoothneſs of it was natural to him, and not Acquir'd. He would repeat Poems in both theſe Languages, ſo that nothing could exceed him; this ſo endear'd him to *Sylla*, that he would ſcarce let him be out of his ſight, and he had a great deſire to have brought him away along with him: but when he endeavoured to perſwade him to it, *Pomponius* returned him this Anſwer. *Do not, Sir, carry me to Fight againſt thoſe, upon whoſe account I left* Italy, *that I might not bear Arms againſt thy ſelf*: But *Sylla* praiſing the Young Man for the

good Offices He had done him, ordered when He went away, that the Preſents which were given him whilſt he was at *Athens*, ſhould be carried to his Houſe, as the tokens of his thankfulneſs. Here he remained many years, and tho he beſtowed much inſpection upon the Affairs of his Houſe, as became the diligence of one that was Maſter of a Family, and ſpent the reſt of his time either in Study, or managing the buſineſs of the *Athenians*, yet he continued his kindneſs to his Fellow-Citizens; For he canvaſs'd at all their Publick Elections, and when any thing of importance was tranſacted, he was never wanting in his ſolicitations. To *Cicero* he ſhewed himſelf ſingularly faithful in his laſt extremities: for when he was forced to abandon his Country, he gave him (*a*) two hundred and fifty thouſand *Seſterces*; But when all theſe Turbulencies were quieted, and the *Tybur* ran calmy, he returned home, and as I think when L. *Cotta* and *L. Torquatus* were Conſuls. The day of his departure, the whole City of *Athens* ſo deplored, that by the tears of their ſorrow they expreſſed the greatneſs of the love they had for him; he had an Uncle whoſe name was *Q. Cæcilus*, a *Roman* Knight, an intimate friend of *L. Lucullus*'s, and very Rich, but

but he was otherwiſe of a moroſe Nature, and difficult to be pleaſed; but *Atticus* ſo ſoftned his temper, which was intolerable to every one elſe, that he gain'd his good will, and retain'd it even to a decrepit Age; and then he reap'd the fruits of that Piety, with which he cultivated his ſower humor, for he adopted him and made him Heir to all that he had; which Inheritance amounted to ten [*b*] millions of *Seſterces*. The Siſter of *Atticus* was Married to *Q. Tullius Cicero*, and *Marcus* his Brother was a great promoter of the match; Between whom and *Atticus* there was a familiarity, even from their being School-Fellows together, and a cloſer friendſhip maintain'd than with *Quintius*; that from hence we may form a judgement, that in the Unions of that Society, the reſemblance of a like diſpoſition prevails more than Affinity; *Hortenſius* too was his boſome-friend, who at that time had the chief vogue for Eloquence: ſo that it was a matter utterly undecided, which lov'd him beſt, either him or *Cicero*; by this means he ſolv'd an inconſiſtence in theſe two Orators, which was a thing not eaſy to be attempted: for tho there was a ſtrong Conteſt betwixt them for Applauſe, yet they never broke out into any revilings of one another, but both agreed

in esteeming him. He so Comported himself in the Commonwealth, that as he was always of the best side, so he had the luck to be thought so. But he never was a party in the Civil Wars, for it was his opinion, that those who embarque in quarrels of that nature, have no more Ascendant over themselves when the Waves of Sedition work high, than those who commit their Fortunes to a Tempest. He never was ambitious of any honor, tho the access was easy to his pretensions, not only by reason of his Credit, but his Quality; he saw that Men were not so fair Candidates for it as their Fore-Fathers, they being so profuse in their Bribes to gain Votes, that the Offices of the Commonwealth could not be undertaken, and the Laws kept inviolate; nor could they be discharg'd without danger, there being such a general corruption of Manners, which Epidemically run through all the City. He never was a purchaser of any goods that were sold by outcry, and as he never farmed any of the Public Revenues, so he never was a Surety for them who did. He never manag'd a Criminal Process' against any one; nor subscrib'd to anothers Accusation; for he never went to Law, nor had ever any definitive Sentence. When many

ny Conſuls and Prætors offer'd him Governments, he would not follow any of them into their Provinces, but contenting himſelf with the honour of the Propoſal, he rejected the profits of it; he denied to go with *Q. Cicero* into *Aſia*, tho he might have been his Lieutenant-General; for he did not think it decent to be in ſubordinate Authority to a Pretor, who had refus'd the firſt Dignity it ſelf; and by this means, he not only Conſulted his Honor, but his eaſe likewiſe, and avoided the leaſt umbrages of a Crime, that he might live unſuſpected; the reſult of this caution was, that the aſſiſtances he paid his friends were the more acceptable, becauſe they were ſincere, when they were the effects only of a readineſs to oblige, and could not be imputed to ſuch ſervile motives as Hope and Fear. When he was about ſixty years old, the civil War of *Cæſar* burſt out into a flame; but he enjoy'd the priviledge his Age indulg'd him, and never ſtir'd out of the City; But thoſe of his friends who went over to *Pompey's* ſide, he furniſh'd their Expeditions out of his own Store; but *Pompey* could not think He was diſregarded, if he did not actually joyn him Himſelf, for he had not receiv'd any advantages from him, which might en-

courage him to it, as others had done, who by his Countenancing them were become Powerful and Rich; ſome of whom followed his Camp, but with regret and very unwillingly, and others ungratefully tarried at home, which very highly offended him. But the Neutrality of *Atticus* was ſo grateful to *Cæſar*, that when he was Conqueror, and diſpatch'd Imperious Mandates to private Perſons to Command their Mony from them, he not only not moleſted him, but pardon'd his Siſter's Son which ſhe had by *Quintius*, tho he was of *Pompey's* party; thus by keeping firm to thoſe firſt maximes of Conduct He laid down for the regulation of his Life, he preſerv'd himſelf ſafe from all new and emergent dangers; conſequent to this, when *Cæſar* was ſlain, and the Commonwealth ſeem'd to be devolv'd into the hands of *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, the Fortune of *Rome* like a Machine turning about toward him; yet he ſo Careſs'd *Brutus*, that the Young-Man never delighted in any ones Company, tho he was of the ſame Age with himſelf, with that pleaſure as he did in that of the Venerable *Atticus*; for he not only admitted him inro his moſt intimate Councels, but enjoy'd his Converſation at all his Repaſts. There was a project ſet on foot,

foot, that a fund of Treaſure ſhould be Conſtituted by the *Roman* Knights for the Murderers of *Cæſar*; they thought the deſign very feeſible, if the Chief of that Order would Contribute their ſhares towards it; whereupon *C. Flavius*, who was a great friend to *Brutus*, apply'd himſelf to *Atticus*, that he would be a principal mover in this Buſineſs; but he, who did courteſies to thoſe he reſpected, without engaging in their Factions, and had always a Temper untainted from deſigns of that Nature, made this anſwer, That if *Brutus* wanted any ſupplies, He would Accommodate him out of his own Money to what value he pleas'd; but that he would never diſcourſe with any man about the Buſineſs, nor accord with him in it; ſo that the united ſentiments of a whole party were ruin'd by his ſingle diſſent. A little while after *Anthony* began to have the upper-hand, and *Brutus* and *Caſſius* (the affairs of thoſe Provinces which were given them by the Conſuls, only for form-ſake, becoming deſperate) were forc'd to fly for it. But *Atticus*, who never employ'd his Money to ſupport the other party, when they were moſt flouriſhing, ſent an [*c*] hundred thouſand *Seſterces* to *Brutus* when he left *Italy*, and was broken in his Fortunes, and

and when he was at *Epire*, he order'd [*d*] 300 thousand more to be given him, himself being Absent; and as he never the more flatter'd the Power of *Anthony*, so he never forsook those who were brought to a Precipice. After this followed the War of *Modena*, in which if I should only call him Prudent, I should detract from his Character, and speak less than I ought to do. He was rather Divine, if a Constant Natural Goodness deserves that Appellation, which is neither shaken nor lessen'd by outward accidents; *Anthony* being declar'd a Public Enemy, was forc'd to leave *Italy*, and there was no hopes of being Restor'd; for not only his Adversaries which were very many, and in a great Power Combin'd against him, but his Friends joyn'd themselves to that number, and Revolted from him; they placed all their hopes of Advancement upon his Depression; they persecuted his most intimate Friends, they endeavour'd to spoil his Wife *Fulvia* of all her goods, and extirpate his Children. *Atticus* as he was familiar with *Cicero*, so he was a great freind to *Brutus*; by this means he not only restrain'd them from committing any outrage upon *Anthony* himself, but he Protected as many of his Confederates which fled out of the City,

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as much as he poſſibly could, and ſupply'd them with all things they ſtood in need of. He was ſo kind to *P. Volumnius*, that greater tenderneſs could not be expected from a Father; and he was ſo diligent in his ſervices to *Fulvia* when ſhe was harraſs'd with Law-Suits, and vex'd with melancholy apprehenſions, that ſhe never enter'd into any Obligation without *Atticus*, for he was her Stipulator in every thing; particularly when in her proſperous Condition ſhe had bought a parcel of Land, which was to be ſatisfied for to a day, and now ſince this Calamity befell her, could not take up Caſh enough upon her own credit to diſcharge the purchaſe; *Atticus* came in opportunely to redreſs rhe grievance, for he lent her Money without intereſt, or ſo much as prefixing a day when it ſhould be repayed; for he reckon'd himſelf the greateſt gainer by the Reputation of a grateful and an obliging Man; and thereby made it appear, that he did not contract an acquaintance with Mens Fortunes, but their Perſons. And tho theſe were his Actions, yet no one could imagine he did them out of any temporiſing principle; for it could not rationally enter into any one's opinion, that *Anthony* would ever recover that game

game of Empire he ſeem'd ſo utterly to have loſt; but every now and then he receiv'd ſecret checks from ſome of the Nobility, objecting to him, that his hatred was not intenſe enough againſt ſuch profligate
10 Citizens. But he confiding in his own Judgment, had a regard rather to what ought to be done, than what other Men would commend, whether it was right or no. For the ſcene of Fortune ſwiftly chang'd, and when *Anthony* return'd into *Italy*, every one was in pain for *Atticus*; for they thought He muſt be involv'd in great riſques, by reaſon of the ſtrict Communication that was between him, and *Brutus*, and *Cicero*; therefore when the Triumvirate approach'd the City, he went out of it, for he fear'd Proſcription, and abſconded in the houſe of *P. Volumnius*, to whom he was ſo Eminently Serviceable, as we have ſhew'd before. So Capricious was the turn of affairs in thoſe times, that ſometimes one party, and ſometimes another, would either be in the height of Proſperity, or the Abyſs of Misfortune. He was not alone in this Retirement, but *Q. Gellius Canius*, who was of the ſame Age, and reſembled him in the Cuſtomes of his Life, was the Companion of his Obſcurity; and this is another inſtance of the good nature of *Atticus*, that he liv'd ſo lovingly

vingly with him whom he knew from his Childhood, and was his Play-fellow, for their friendſhip grew up with their years, and laſted even to an extreme old Age. *Anthony*, tho he was ſo inveterately angry with *Cicero*, that he not only declar'd open enmity againſt him, but threatn'd all his Abettors, and was reſolv'd to Proſcribe them; yet when many made Remonſtrances to him in the behalf of *Atticus*, and he himſelf call'd to mind the Engagements he had formerly laid upon him, he as ſuddenly Relented, ſo that he Writ to him with his own hand to know where he was; bid him not be afraid, but that he ſhould immediately come to him, for that he had ſtruck him and *Gellius Canius* out of the number of the Proſcrib'd; Beſides he ſent him a Guard to aſſure him in the darkneſs, and free him from the dangers of the Night; by this means his fears were diſpers'd, and he not only ſecur'd himſelf, but was an inſtrument of ſafety to the Man who was next dear to him. For he never ſolicited to be out of trouble alone, but in Conjunction with his friend, that by this it might appear, that Men who love one another are not to be divided in their Fortunes. If that Pilot therefore deſerves applauſe who ſteers his Ship in a Winter Sea,

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when the Seaſon is as rough as the Ocean, why ſhould not his Prudence merit a particular Encomium, who arriv'd at ſafety through ſo many Civil broils, and ſuch Storms in the State? When he had work'd himſelf out of theſe diſtreſſes, he was intent upon nothing elſe than how he might aſſiſt as many as he could, and in what things he was able. When the Triumvirate ſet a price upon the heads of the Proſcrib'd, that the proſpect of a reward might encourage the rabble to a ſearch, there was not any one who fled into *Epire* who wanted for any thing; and he gave them liberty to make it their perpetual Reſidence; beſides, after the Battel at *Philippæ*, and the Slaughter of *C. Caſſius* and *M. Brutus*, he was reſolv'd to ſhelter *L. Julius Mocilla*, the Pretor, and his Son *Aulus Torquatus*, and the reſt who were beaten down with the ſame ſtroke of Fortune; and he commanded likewiſe ſupplies to be ſent them when they Retir'd out of *Epire* into *Samothracia*. It is very hard, and indeed not neceſſary, to run minutely through all his Actions: this only I contend for, and which ought to be underſtood, that his Liberality was not cover'd over with any Siniſter deſign, nor was it to humor the preſent current of Affairs; this may be concluded from the things themſelves, and

and the Complexion of thoſe times; for he never ſided with the Proſperous, but always ſuccour'd thoſe who were in affliction; for he was as Aſſiduous in his reſpects to *Servilia* the Mother of *Brutus* after the death of her Son, as when he was living and moſt happy. Being ſo Generous, he could not well provoke any one to be his Enemy, for he never offer'd an injury, and if another was the Agreſſor upon him, he choſe rather to forget then Revenge the Affront: If he receiv'd a Civility, the impreſſion of it was Immortal, never to be effac'd; but if he confer'd one, it eaſily fell out of his mind, till he that was oblig'd renew'd the memory of it by his acknowledgments; doing after this manner, he confirm'd the truth of that ſaying, *That every one owes his lucky hits to the conduct of himſelf*; but the making his Fortune, was the laſt thing in his Intention, he firſt form'd his Manners, as a previous Qualification, and with ſuch an exquiſite niceneſs, that he might not juſtly be charg'd with any thing that was culpable. By this means it came to paſs, that when *M. Vipſanius Agrippa*, who was the Favourite of young *Octavius*, might have had his choice out of the Ladies of the beſt Condition in *Rome*, by reaſon of his own Credit, and the Power

Power of *Cæsar*, yet he was ambitious of being related to him, and desir'd rather to marry the Daughter of a *Roman* Knight, as the nobler Alliance; The chief Manager of this Match (for it is not to be conceal'd) was *Anthony*, who was one of the Triumvirate for setling the Commonwealth. Being shin'd upon by his favor, He might have made large Additions to his Estate, but he was so little infected with the love of Money, that he never us'd it but in those occasions where his freind was to be freed from danger, and eas'd of any thing that incommoded him. An illustrious instance of this was in the time of the Proscription; for when the Triumvirate had sold the Goods of *L. Saufeius* a *Roman* Knight, according to the custom which then obtain'd, who was of the same Age with himself, had resided many years at *Athens* to Study Philosophy, and had noble Lordships in *Italy*; *Atticus* carried himself in this business with so much Industry and address, that the same Messenger who brought him word that He had lost his Patrimony, contradicted his own news, by telling him, that he had recover'd it again. He likewise clear'd off *L. Julius Calidius*, who I am bold to affirm, after the death of *Lucretius* and *Catullus*, was

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the moſt Elegant Poet of his time; he was no leſs famous for the integrity of his Morals, and his being Educated in all the beſt Arts; This Man after the Knights were proſcrib'd, tho he was abſent, yet he was brought into the number by *P. Volumnius*, who was Overſeer of the Workmen of *Anthony*; and his great Poſſeſſions in *Africk* made him obnoxious to this puniſhment; So that it made it a puzling queſtion, whether there was more difficulty in the undertaking, or Glory in the performance. But it was a Character of *Atticus* generally known, that it was his care as much to releive his abſent freinds as thoſe that were preſent; and he was as good a Father of a Family as He was a Citizen; for tho he was a great Monied-Man, yet no one was ſo moderate a Purchaſer, nor Built leſs than He did; not but that he liv'd very Commodiouſly, and what things he ſerv'd himſelf of, they were the beſt of their kind. His Houſe was Situate in the *Quirinal* Hill, which was an Inheritance left him by his Uncle, whoſe pleaſantneſs did not conſiſt in the Curioſity of the Structure, but in the Wood that encompaſs'd it; for being a Pile rais'd after the ancient manner, it had more of conveniency in it than beauty; and he never made any

Alterations, but where the decays by the injury of time requir'd to be repair'd; his Family, if we judge of them by their usefulness, was extraordinary; but if we regard only the outward appearance, it was scarce tolerable: for it was made up of Lads who were very good Scholars, could read excellently well, and write delicate hands for Transcribing, and there was scarce any Footboy but could do either of them to admiration; all the Artificers too, whose Art was necessary for the Adorning his Apartments, were the choicest of their Profession. And there was not one of them but was born and run through the Novitiate of their several Trades in his House; which was a sign not only of his moderation, but great industry: for not to be intemperate in our desires after those things which others so eagerly covet, is a great continency of temper: and to acquire that by diligence which others are at an expence for, argues a more then ordinary Application. *Atticus* was rather Polite than Magnificent: he did all things for his Honor, but without any excess of cost; he was always clean and neat, but did not affect an Effeminate niceness. As for his Moveables and Furniture they were Competently Rich, and did not abound; so that he avoided

avoided the two extremes of being ſtingy and profuſe. I will not omit one thing, tho to ſome it may ſeem a matter of light importance, That tho He was one of the moſt Splendid of the *Roman* Knights, and receiv'd Men of all conditions at his Houſe with a Liberal Hoſpitality, yet he ſpent no more than juſt [e] three thouſand Aſſes a month, as appears by the regiſter of his Diſburſements; and this I do not ſpeak by hearſay, but as a thing I am certain of; for by reaſon of the familiarity betwixt us, I was Converſant in the Family, and was at the caſting up of the Accounts; he had no other Conſort at all his Feaſts but only a ſingle Reader, which in my opinion was the moſt raviſhing Muſick; nor did he ever Sup without one of theſe Lectures; that whilſt their Appetites were Regaled, the minds of the Gueſts might be entertain'd with ſomething more diverting; for he never invited any one to his Table but in whom he diſcerned a diſpoſition conformable to his own. Tho Riches flow'd in upon him, yet he never heightned his daily Proviſions, nor deviated from the former meaſures of his Life; for he was ſo moderate, that when he was worth but [f] twenty hundred thouſand *Seſterces*, he did not Live in glorioufly, which was the Eſtate

left him by his Father; ſo when it amounted to [g] ten millions, he did not raiſe his Port to any greater Affluence than what he firſt deſign'd; for he kept inalterably to the ſame pitch in either fortune. As for his other Recreations, he had no Gardens with Parteres, nor no delightful place to take the air in the Suburbs; he had no Sumptuous *Villa* near the Sea-ſhore, nor indeed in all *Italy*, except it were at *Ardea* and *Nomentum*, which were only two Country-farms; And all the Reveſſues he had, conſiſted in the Lands he had at *Epire*, and ſome Poſſeſſions in the City; from whence it may be known, that he did not make his eſtimate of Mony by the immenſe quantity, but the rational uſe of it. As he was always a Man of ſtrict veracity himſelf, ſo he abhor'd lying in another; therefore his courteſy was mix'd with ſomewhat that was Auſtere; and he was Affable, but Grave; ſo that it was hard to ſay, whether his Friends Lov'd or Reverenc'd him moſt; whatever was entreated of him, he would promiſe ſolemnly to do it, for it was his opinion that he was not a generous but an inconſtant Man, who would engage for that which he was not able to perform. He was ſo induſtrious in bringing an affair to a reſult which he had once eſpous'd, that

that he seem'd to Transact his own concern and not anothers, which was deputed to his Management: and when he had once undertaken a busines, he was unwearied in his pursuits, for he thought his Reputation was Interess'd in it, of which he was jealous even to a delicacy. By this means he solicited the busines of *Marcus* and *Quintius Cicero*, of *Marius*, *Cato*, *Hortensius*, *Aulus Torquatus*, and many other *Roman* Knights; from whence we may infer, that it was an effect of his judgment, and did not proceed from any unactive temper, that he declin'd the publick Functions of the Commonwealth. A greater instance of the Complaisance of his humor cannot be given than this, that when he was a Young-Man he was very agreeable to *Sylla* who was in the decline of his Age; and when himself was old *M. Brutus* extremely delighted in him, who was in the bloom of his years; he liv'd so amicably with his Cotemporaries *Hortensius* and *Cicero*, that it is hard to say to which Age his Genius was most adapted; but *Cicero* Lov'd him the most fervently of the two, for it was to the last degree of affection; so that his Brother *Quintius* was not dearer or more familiar to him; the real evidences of it, besides those Books in which he makes mention of him,

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which are already publiſh'd, are thoſe ſixteen Volumes of Epiſtles which he ſent to *Atticus* from the beginning of his Conſulſhip even to his latter days, which whoſoever reads, he will not deſire a more Connected Hiſtory of thoſe times; for in them the inclinations and deſigns of Princes, the faults of Generals in their Conduct, and the Revolutions of the Commonwealth, are ſo perſpicuouſly trac'd out, that all the intrigues of State are unravell'd, and the ſprings of Policy ſeem to lye open; ſo that from hence we may conclude, that Prudence is a ſort of Divination; For *Cicero* not only pointed out all the accidents of his own time, but with a briſker heat of Prophefy foretold all the events which have happen'd ſince, and we ſenſibly experience. What need I Commemorate any thing more of the Piety of *Atticus*? When I heard him Glorying thus juſtly of himſelf, in the Funeral Oration he made upon his Mother, whom he buried at ninety years of Age, himſelf being ſixty-ſeven, That he never had any occaſion to be reconcil'd to her, and no difference ever happen'd betwixt Him and his Siſter, who was almoſt of the ſame Age with himſelf; which are manifeſt indications, either that no cauſes of Diſſatisfaction ever aroſe between them,

and

and so there was no need of Cement where nothing was broken; or that he was so kind to his Relations, that he thought it even a piece of Irreligion to be angry with those whom he had all the obligations upon him to Love. And this he did not so much by the tender instinct of Nature, whose suggestions we are all obsequious to, but it was the effect of his Learning, and he acquir'd it by Study; for the Precepts of the chief Philosophers were closely impress'd upon him, and they did not serve for Parade and ostenation, but he made them useful to him in the whole course of his Life. He set the Manners of the Antient *Romans* before him as the patterns of his imitation, and fairly copied out the great Originals; He was likewise a Studious Lover of Antiquity: this knowledg he intimately convers'd with, and gave large demonstrations of it in the Volume he Wrote of Magistracy, which was a Province he ingeniously adorn'd: for there was not a Law made, no Peace concluded, nor no War undertaken, not an Action of Consequence done by the *Roman* People, but he hath related it with a strict Chronology, and adjusted every occurrence to its proper time: and which seems an attempt of great intricacy, he hath interwoven in it the pedi-

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grees of ſome Families, with ſo fine a texture, that by them we may know the beginnings of thoſe Men who have made any conſiderable Figure in *Rome*. He did the ſame thing ſeparately in other Books; as at the entreaty of *M. Brutus*, he deriv'd the *Junian* Family from its firſt Source, and ſhew'd all the Channels in which it hath flow'd down even to our times; diſtinctly numbring each one's Predeceſſor in a true ſeries of Succeſſion, and relating what Honors they attain'd to, and in what times they enjoy'd them: he did the like courteſy for *Marcellus Claudius* concerning the *Marcelli*; and at the inſtances of *Scipio Cornelius* and *Fabius Maximus*, he gave an account of the *Cornelian*, the *Fabian*, and the *Emilian* Families; and nothing carries with it ſo endearing a reliſh as theſe Books to thoſe who have the leaſt tincture of curioſity to be acquainted with the deſcents of Illuſtrious Men; he had a ſmattering too in Poetry, which I believe was, that he might not be ignorant what ſweetneſs there was in it; for if any had arriv'd to a higher pitch of Dignity beyond the ordinary *Romans*, or had ſignaliz'd themſelves by any notable performances, he employ'd his Poetical Talent to Record their Gallantry; for he deſcrib'd their Exploits, and what Charges they had in the Govern-

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ment under each of their Pictures, and this in no more than four or five Verſes, which ſeems a thing almoſt incredible, that he could compriſe tranſactions of ſuch high moment in ſo narrow a compaſs. He Writ a Book alſo in *Greek* concerning the Conſulſhip of *Cicero*. Theſe things we have related of him were whilſt *Atticus* was alive; but now ſince the malignity of fate will have us to outlive him, we will run through the reſt of his Actions, and diſpatch what remains of this Great Man; that by real and bright examples, we may inſtruct the Reader, and ſo confirm that axiome we have before laid down, *That every one allures Fortune to his ſide according as he manageth himſelf*; for *Atticus* contenting himſelf with the Parernal Dignity of a Knight which deſcended to him, he at laſt came to be related to the Son of *Julius*, and the friendſhip between them was heightned into Affinity; for he had before gain'd the confidence of *Auguſtus* by the elegancy of his Living; and this was the inducement by which he attracted others of the chiefeſt rank in the City to his Converſation, who were of as Noble an Extraction as the Emperor, but their condition was unequal, becauſe not ſo proſperous; for fortune ſeem'd to fawn upon *Cæſar*, and ſo conſtant

ſtant a ſucceſs ſtill followed him, that all the Honors ſhe ever decreed to any of her Favourites, ſhe conferr'd upon him, and with her Auſpicious gales convey'd him to the utmoſt Honor which the ambition of a Citizen could aſpire to. *Agrippa* made *Atticus* a Grandfather, who married his Daughter when ſhe was a tender Virgin; this Female-Infant, tho ſhe was ſcarce a year old, *Cæſar* betroth'd to *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, which his Wife *Druſilla* had by a former Huſband, and was his Son-in-Law: this Alliance confirm'd their former Amity, and tied it on with an inviolable Sanction. Tho before theſe Eſpouſals, not only when he was abſent from *Rome*, when he writ to any of his Friends, he ſent to *Atticus* even the minutes of his Life, as what he was then doing, eſpecially what Author he was reading, in what place he reſided, and how long he deſign'd to tarry there: but likewiſe when he was in the City, and was diſtracted by multiplicity of buſineſs, which gave him ſo great Avocations, that he could not enjoy him ſo often as he would, yet the commerce of the Pen was not interrupted, for no day paſs'd in which he did not by Letter ask his opinion in ſome matters relating to Antiquity, or propoſe ſome Poetical queſtion: ſometimes he would

would be facetious only, and rally him, that the answers in which he Repartee might be the more prolix; which had this good effect, that when the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, which *Romulus* built in the Capitol, through Age and People being incurious of its repairs, began to threaten a total ruin, *Cæsar* by the perswasion of *Atticus* took care to support it. *Mr. Anthony* had him in no less passionate esteem, and maintain'd an intercourse with him of this nature, for which he was banish'd even to the extream limits of the Empire, yet he certified his *Atticus* to a nice punctilio of what he was then upon, and what design he had in farther Projection: he only is qualified to judg of the greatness of this Correspondence, who can make a true estimate what a piece of Consummate Wisdom it is to retain the favor, and reconcile the jealousies of two great Personages, who were Competitors in the same Ambition, betwixt whom there was not only a bare Emulation, but a perfect Antipathy, which kindled into the mutual upbraiding one another: it was an Aversion as strong as could possibly be between an *Anthony* and a *Cæsar*, who would not divide the Globe, but each one contended not only to be Master of *Rome*, but Emperor of the World. Through all

all these Traverses of Life, he at last arriv'd to the seventy seventh year, and his Credit and Riches multiplied upon him even to an extream old Age: (for many left him all that they had, purely upon the account of his wonderful Goodness.) But now after he had been of so strong a Complexion, that he had no need of a Physitian for thirty years together, his health was so entire, he at last contracted a Disease which himself and his Doctors at first despis'd as a very slight indisposition, for they thought it to be a [b] *Tenesmus*, therefore they administred quick and easy applications, to disperse it in its first accesses. After he had languish'd three months, without any more sensible uneasiness than what he receiv'd from the methods of his cure, the whole weight of his distemper sunk at last into one of his guts, which broke out afterwards into a very putrid Fistula: But before this Crisis hapned to him, when he found his pains to encrease, and his blood grow warm, he order'd his Son-in-Law *Agrippa* to be sent for, with *L. Cornelius Balbus*, and *Sextus Peducæus*: when he saw that they were come, leaning upon his Couch he spoke to them after this manner: *What care have I taken for the preservation of my health, since you all can abundantly attest, a discourse of that*

nature

nature will be altogether ſuperfluous: hoping therefore that I have given you ſatisfaction, and being conſcious to my ſelf, that I have omitted nothing which carried the leaſt tendency in it towards a cure: it only remains now that I more nearly conſult my ſelf, and this is the thing I would acquaint you with, that I am reſolv'd no longer to nouriſh my diſeaſe, but ſtarve it: for the ſuſtenance I have taken theſe laſt days hath protracted my Life indeed, but it hath prolong'd my afflictions with it, without any hopes of recovery. I therefore beg it of you, that you would firſt approve of my expedient, and then uſe no arguments to diſſwade me from it, for it will be all in vain. He ſpoke this with ſuch a ſtrong voice, and ſuch an aſſured Countenance, as if he was not leaving the World, but paſſing from one Houſe into another. But *Agrippa* with tears in his eyes kiſſing him, did not only entreat but earneſtly Conjured him not to Accelerate his fate himſelf, but let nature bring it leiſurely upon him; and ſince there were remains of health which would in Life keep ſome time longer, that he would ſuffer himſelf to ſurvive both for his own ſake and that of his friend: but He rejected his importunities with an obſtinate ſilence. Thus after two days rigid abſtinence, his Feaver went off without any paroxyſms, and

all

all the Symptomes were manifestly abated: but he thinking it not worth the while to live, would not recede from his first purpose; therefore the fifth day after he had taken up this fatal resolution, he departed this Life, which was the day before the Kalends of *April*, *L. Domitius* and *C. Sosius* being Consuls. His body was brought forth in a Litter, as he himself had order'd, without any Funeral Pomp: but all the best Men of the City accompanied the Corps with a numerous Concourse of the Common People; he was buried five miles from *Rome* by the *Appian* way, in the Monument of *Q. Cæcilius* his Uncle.

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[a] *Two thousand eighty three Pounds six shillings and eight pence*, English Sterling. [b] *Eight hundred thirty one thousand three hundred thirty three Pounds six shillings eight pence*, Sterl. [c] *Eighs hundred thirty three Pounds six shillings eight pence*, Sterl. [d] *Two thousand five hundred Pounds* Sterl. [e] *Equivalent to ten Pounds* Sterl. [f] *Sixteen thousand six hundred sixty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence* Sterling. [g] *The sum total is one hundred thousand pounds* Sterl.

For

For these reductions of the Roman *Coin to the* English *Standard, I am oblig'd to the Learned Mr.* Wa. [*b*] *This is a fruitless endeavor of Nature, to ease her self, occasion'd by a defluxion of sharp humors, the which irrirate the Sphincters of the Anus.*

F I N I S.